National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Canada

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOLARLY THINKING ON THE MINOAN RELIGION FROM SIR ARTHUR EVANS TO THE PRESENT

DAVID RUBIN

A THESIS

IN THE SPECIAL INDIVIDUAL PROGRAM

PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

AT

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

MONTREAL, QUEBEC, CANADA

MARCH 1993

ISBN 0-315-87332-9

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: **David Rubin**

Entitled: **The Development of Scholarly Thinking on the Minoan Religion from Sir Arthur Evans to the Present**

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

complies with the regulations of this University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the final examining committee:

B. P. Woodside — Chair
Barbara Woodside

B. P. Woodside for Philip Betancourt — External Examiner
Philip Betancourt

Frederick Krantz — Examiner
Frederick Krantz

Warren Sanderson — Examiner
Warren Sanderson

Donald Sedgwick — Thesis Supervisor
Donald Sedgwick

Approved _____
Graduate Programme Director

May 31 1993

Yiorgos Vassilakis
Dean of Faculty

ABSTRACT

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOLARLY THINKING ON THE MINOAN RELIGION FROM SIR ARTHUR EVANS TO THE PRESENT

DAVID RUBIN

This essay is a synthesis of theories, hypotheses and conclusions concerning Minoan religion, from the time of Sir Arthur Evans to the present. It does not present new evidence nor new documentation, but does analyze the problems and goals of contemporary academics' discussion. The analysis reveals how Evans' theories have been modified and updated through modern methods and the introduction of new disciplines.

The time covered is from Early Minoan III - Late Minoan II (c.2200-1400 BC). The discussion is limited to Crete with occasional references to the religion of the Greek mainland.

The evidence examined emphasizes the importance of religious sites and of the part that sacrifice, ritual and sacred garments played in Minoan religion. The discussion reveals that early scholars, including Evans, drew on the knowledge of preceding generations to arrive at their conclusions. Some of the evidence formulated by scholars in the 19th century remained the basis of ideas in the early 20th century.

The ultimate goal of this paper is to stimulate the interest of new students in Aegean history, particularly in Minoan civilization.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the preparation of this thesis, I am most grateful to Mr. Donald Sedgwick. He was my principal mentor and helped in formulating the original plan and outline. He continually guided, directed and motivated me throughout this endeavor.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. George Cochrane for his meticulous editing of this work.

My very personal thanks to Dr. Philip Betancourt, the renowned Minoan scholar, for graciously offering to read my thesis.

Thanks are due to many Minoan academics for their suggestions, guidance and encouragement; Dr. Nanno Marinatos, Dr. Joseph Shaw, Dr. G. Koepche, Dr. Gisela Walberg for her assistance with the chapter on Evans and Dr. Carole Thomas for suggestions on the preface and the overall "pruning" of the thesis.

Thanks are due to Dr. Frederick Krantz and Dr. Warren Sanderson for their continued encouragement.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my wife Frances for her inspiration, support and patience over the many years.

DEDICATED

TO MY WIFE FRANCES

AND

DONALD SEDGWICK

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (PLATON, 1966)

PLATON	BC	Evans
Early Neolithic I	c. 6000-5000	Early Neolithic
Early Neolithic II	c. 5000-4000	Early Neolithic
Middle Neolithic	c. 4000-3000	Middle Neolithic
Late Neolithic	c. 3000-2600	Late Neolithic
Pre-Palace Period		Early Minoan
Phase 1	2600-2400	Early Minoan I
Phase 11	2400-2200	Early Minoan II
Phase 111	2200-2000	Early Minoan III
Old-Palace Period		

	Platon	Evans	
Phase 1	2000-1900	2000-1900	Middle Minoan Ia
Phase 11	1900-1800	1900-1850	Middle Minoan Ib
Phase 111	1800-1700	1850-1750	Middle Minoan II
New Palace Period			
Phase 1		1750-1600	Middle Minoan III
Phase 11		1600-1450	Late Minoan Ia, b
Phase 111		1450-1400	Late Minoan II
Post-Palace Period			
Phase 1		1400-1320	Late Minoan III a
Phase 11		1320-1260	Late Minoan III b
Phase 111		1260-1150	

ABBREVIATONS

ActArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AE	Archeologiki Ephemeris, Athens
AIA	American Institute of Archaeology
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische
ARW	Archiv fÜr die Religionswissenschaft, Berlin
Asatene	Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene.
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique, Paris
BSA	Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens
CMS	Corpus den Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel, ed. F. Matz and H. Biesantz, vol 1, Berlin, 1964.
DMG 2	Michael Ventris and John Chadwick. Documents in Mycenaean Greek. 2nd ed.
GGR	M.P.Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion 1 (V. 2.1, 2nd ed. 1955)
GR	W. Burkert, Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche, 1977

IK	N.Platon, "To ieron Maza (Kalou Choriphis)" Pediados kai ta minoika iera koriphis, 5(1951)
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
krChron	Kretika Chronika
MMR	M.P.Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion, 2nd ed. (Lund, 1950),
mon.ant	A. Paribeni, Monumenti antichi publicati per cura della reale accademia dei lichei.
OpArch	Opuscula Archaeologia
OpAth	Opuscula Atheniensia
P/M	A. Evans, The Palace of Minos at Knossos, I-IV (London, 1921-1935)
rÉl prÉhÉll	Ch. Picard, Les rÉligions prÉhellÉniques (Paris, 1948)
TPC	A. Evans, "The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult", JHS, 21 (1901)

GLOSSARY

aedicula	a religious building, shine or niche
aniconic	non-pictorial representation of a diety
anthropomorphic	pertaining to a deity with a human form
apotropaic	to turn away a plague or disease from human beings
baetyl	the belief that pillars, trees and stones are the homes of the deities
boukranian	the skull of a sacrificed animal
chthonic	pertaining to gods of the underworld
crocus	(sativus) plant, possibly a creeper or climber
epigraphy	the study of inscriptions in stone
epiphany	ritual performance to communicate and induce the deity to reveal itself
ethnography	deals with the origins of races and ethnic groups
ethnology	the science which relates to the original classification of man
euhemerism	The theory that the gods of mythology were deified mortals
Festkalender	calendar of feast days and festivals

labrys	anatolian version of the double axe
kernos	denotes a clay vessel with a different number of cups attached to it
koine	the common, shared language and culture throughout the whole Aegean area in the later Mycenaean Age
magulas	low hill
naology	the study of sanctuaries
omophany	the ritual of eating flesh
parados	a young male god
wanassa	the female form of wanax, which means leader or priest-king

PREFACE

The Minoan religion as interpreted by Sir Arthur Evans forms the basis of this study. After tracing the development of Evans' interpretation and his fundamental conclusions, the study will follow the important modifications of that picture in the thinking of more recent scholars. The cumulative product will represent the several emerging levels of interpretation, as succeeding generations drew upon and reinterpreted the conclusions of their predecessors.

There is no doubt that religion played an important part in the lives of the Bronze Age inhabitants of Crete. According to Pendlebury, the most permanent feature of the Minoan civilization was its religion (Pendlebury, 1939, p. 23). The religion of the Minoans is perhaps more frequently discussed than any other aspect of their culture (Walberg, 1987, p. 171).

Cult symbols and practices are regularly found in all categories of the remaining evidence. Thus it is possible to study the Minoan religion through examination of pottery, seals, gem-stones and archaeological remains found in locations identified as cult sites, caves, peak sanctuaries and shrines in the palaces. Moreover, from Middle Minoan III

to the Late Bronze Age, there is an abundance of evidence depicted on seals and frescoes which seems to have religious connections (Gesell, 1985, p. 2). Yet despite all these clues very little is definitively known about the Minoan religion and hence all conclusions are conjectural.

Missing from the evidence is written testimony, apart from the Linear B Tablets which Ventris deciphered in 1952. While many Linear B tablets were found at Knossos, their script is an early form of Greek: in other words, they represent the mainland, not the Cretan, religious tradition.

A crucial favorable factor in the development, and understanding, of the Minoan religion was that there were no major cultural breaks in the Minoan civilization from the EBA to the end of the palace era (c.1450 BC), a period of nearly 1600 years. We are, therefore, dealing with a single tradition rather than a mixture of a great many, and possibly very different, religious concepts.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is divided into five sections. The first segment deals with the pre-Evans period (before 1900). It outlines the ideas on the Aegean religion that were held prior to Evans' discovery of the Palace at Knossos. There was at that time no knowledge of a Minoan religion or civilization.

The second period is called the "Evans era" (1900-1924). Evans' research, opinions and conclusions dominated this period.

The following, "Nilsson period" (1924-1952), was influenced by Professor Nilsson's hypotheses on Greek religion. Nilsson, in his History of Greek Religion, 1924, discusses and illustrates virtually every religious object known at this time.

In the later edition of this book The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion, (1950), Nilsson discusses anew his interpretation of the material of the Aegean, and clarifies the position of the Minoan-Mycenaean religion. He stresses the continuity of the Minoan into the Mycenaean religion, and then into the Classical era (Nilsson, 1950, Preface).

The fourth section of the essay focuses on the contemporary period, not in the sense that the evidence is new but rather that it updates the interpretations and

conclusions revealed by artifacts found through archaeology and new disciplines. These finds clarify the current theories on the Minoan religion in the period from Nilsson's "1950 edition" to the present.

The fifth section outlines the impact of analysis of sacrifice, ritual and sacred clothes on our concept of the Minoan religion.

CHAPTER 1

THE PRE-EVANS PERIOD

Before we address the task of tracing the development of scholarly thinking on Minoan religion from Evans to the present, it would be beneficial to examine briefly the concepts of Aegean religion held by scholars researching this ancient civilization prior to the 20th century. Antiquarians, sixteenth to eighteenth century scholars, were Europeans who took an interest in prehistory and were the first people in history known to us to take such an interest. Their philosophy was concerned with the nature of man and this problem was bound up with man's origin and the development of his culture (Daniel, 1976, p. 17).

Until the 20th century, early mankind took it for granted that the superhuman world was beyond the control of man (Bergquist, 1988, p. 274).

The ancient world was full of shrines, temples, sanctuaries and flowery groves. The general belief was that the deities controlled all aspects of nature. A common antiquarian belief was that nymp lived in every cave, pillar and fountain. The belief in natural spirits was very widespread (Nilsson, 1924, p. 119). This was the most persistent, but not the highest, form of religion in

antiquity. This hypothesis was based on the study of ethnologists, who claimed that this idea was a general belief amongst people of diverse regions all over the ancient world.

In this regard, one should not underestimate literary sources. Homer and Hesiod were used early on as the bases for hypothesizing about the nature of the Mycenaean civilization. Homer is an important source not only because he was the first Greek poet but also because he exerted an enormous influence upon scholars of later times. On the other hand, caution should be exercised regarding Homer, who was writing at least 600 years after the collapse of the Minoan civilization. His sources were only oral and hearsay (Dietrich, 1974, p, 135). He is an unreliable source because we do not know to what extent he describes contemporary features of his time or to what extent he refers to Bronze Age religion. It is obvious that there is a reference to the Aegean civilization and religion in the Homeric texts,(for instance, Homer describes Odysseus' return to Ithaca) (The Odyssey, Book Eight). This verifies Homer's awareness of the Minoan civilization.

Homer mentions Lykastos as one of the seven important cities of Crete (Iliad 2, 646-648) and the legendary burial of Zeus on Mt. Juktas, and describes the meeting between Minos and Zeus, implying that the king's power came from the gods (Odyssey, 19, 178f).

Homer's description of the "Catalogue of 100 Ships" of

Crete shows that he had a fair knowledge of Cretan civilization (Iliad, 2, 505-535). It should be noted that there is nothing in Homer to suggest that Crete was the center of the Aegean culture. His main focus was on Mycenae, Sparta and Troy. This is the time of the Trojan War, when the Mycenaeans occupied Crete. He emphasized that the principal participants in the Trojan War came from the mainland (Iliad, Book 2, 493ff).

Hephaestos, according to Homer, describes a labyrinthine ritual dance depicted in one of the scenes on the Shield of Achilles. He also refers to the dancing floor that Daedalos constructed at Knossos for Ariadne (Willetts, 1969, p. 81).

In the 5th century BC, Herodotus and Thucydides suggested that King Minos of Crete controlled the Aegean waters (Herodotus, 1, p. 171: Thucydides, 1, 4, 8).

Lucian, in the second century AD, mentions Cretan dance themes, as in the Bull ceremony, the Labyrinth, Ariadne and Daedalos (William, Henry and Francis Fowler, 1905).

Plutarch, writing at the beginning of the Christian era, associates an early Greek dance with a similar dance at Delos. He mentions the dancing-floor that Daedalos was believed to have built for Ariadne (Plutarch, The Morals).

When Christianity was officially adopted by the Roman Empire in the fourth century, interest in the Heroic Age was almost extinct. The understanding of the character of the Heroic Age was altered beyond recognition during the Middle

Ages (Nees, 1991).

Petrarch (1304-1374) attempted a revival of the Hellenic era in the later 14th century by frequently referring to the early Greeks (Petrarch, The Sonnets, 1327-1374).

During the Renaissance a revival of interest occurred when the ancient literature was rediscovered. This led to renewed curiosity in the Homeric texts (Higgins, 1967, p. 8). A primary emphasis, concerning the Heroic Age by the humanists concerning the Heroic Age in the Renaissance, was to try to identify the tomb of Zeus with a definite grotto. Their early efforts were to identify a passage mentioned in the Classical Texts and associate the ruins with an existing site (Fabricius, E., (1885), pp. 59-77: Rutkowski, 1986, pp. 3-5: P/M, I, p. 154).

Renaissance scholars strove to rationalize the myths and adopted the ideas of euhemerism (gods of mythology were deified mortals) in the search for the origin of the gods. This practice continued up to the time of Schliemann. Yet, the view of early scholars on pre-Greek cult places was characterized by concepts similar to those of Roman and Greek authors (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 2)

Prior to the 14th century, scholars such as Ennius and Kyrill surmised that the tomb of Zeus was situated at Knossos (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 237, n. 4), or on Mt Ida (Rutkowski, 1986,p. 237, n. 5), or on top of Mt. Ida (Nomm. Dion. 8. ff), or connected with Mt. Ditke (Rutkowski, 1986,

pp. 3-5, n. 26)

In 1415, Buondeimonti wrote that Zeus was buried on Mount Giove (now called Mt. Juktas) (Buondeimonti, 1898 p. 18). He believed the tomb of Zeus was situated near a small monastery on the southern, higher peak of Mount Juktas.

In the 15th century, Buondeimonti started with a classical text and tried to identify a passage in the text with an existing site (Buondeimonti, 1897, p. 14).

Travellers to Crete in the 17th century AD were almost solely interested in classical antiquity and focused their attention on mythological legends such as those of Theseus, Ariadne and the Minotaur. Lithgow describes the labyrinth of Daealos and mentions Ariadne, who helped Theseus to return safely after killing the minotaur (Lithgow, 1632).

In the 17th and 18th centuries archaeological research was at a standstill because political events made field research impossible (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 3).

In the 18th and 19th centuries the emphasis was on applying philology to rationalize the myths and legends that had come down from antiquity. Historians during this period attempted to determine what effect, if any, the Bronze Age religion had on the Classical Greek religion. They were unaware of the Minoan civilization at that time.

In the 19th century, early discoveries were made by Pashley. He was the first person to give the location of the sanctuary on Mt. Juktas correctly. However, he was simply

satisfied to identify important sites without too many comments (Pashley, 1, 1837, pp. 219ff:source, Rutkowswki, 1986, p. 238, n. 25).

In 1894, Taramelli visited the Kamares grotto at Mt. Ditke. He examined the architectural ruins and concluded that they were the remains of the "Tomb of Zeus". (Taramelli, 1899, p. 70). Its authenticity was verified in May, 1899, (Taramelli, 1901, p. 437).

Much of the history of research and archaeology of the 19th century was encumbered by past tradition, which resulted in a great deal of repetitive speculation, expressed in mythological and philological theories. Scholars were mainly interested in analyzing Classical Texts (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 3). During this period, interest in the baetylic religion developed (refer to definition on p. 26) (Äström, Paul, (1964), 159ff: Evans, 1901, 58ff).

In the last quarter of the 19th century, many unsubstantiated theories were advanced which influenced later research. Some scholars, for example, claimed that the cult places on the mountain peaks were of pre-Greek origins (Baumlein, 6, (1839), 1139, 1182). Other scholars supported the theory of totemism as an early form of Greek religion (Cook, 14, 1897).

In the 19th century the sum total of cult study was in field observation, a belief in the pre-Greek origin of sanctuaries and an interest in the labrys (double axe) (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 4). According to Willetts, tne most

popular religious activities were those that were practiced on peak sanctuaries (Willetts, R. F. 1986, pp. 221).

Prior to the 20th century most scholars who studied cult sites ignored peak sanctuaries. The conclusions formulated by scholars during this period were based largely on philology and mythology. Some of these views remained the basis of ideas in the early 20th century (Warren, 1975, p. 163, n. 54). No further research was done on cult sites until Evans carried out an investigation in 1909.

Aegean historians in the nineteenth century, such as Reichal, Pashley and Taramelli, regarded the Minoan civilization as a myth. They believed that the Iliad and the Odyssey did not contain any historical truth. Only in the last quarter of the century was myth believe to reflect reality. This progress was attributed to Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlic.

Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlic led to the discovery of Troy. The term "Mycenaean Civilization" was first heard in c.1879 (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 3).

After Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlic in 1876, legend became history. His discovery of the ancient city of Troy was the catalyst which resulted in a tremendous explosion of archaeological research. Schliemann's success lay in his faith in Homer. He accepted the Iliad and the Odyssey as historical texts rather than as mythological fables, as most scholars of that era did.

The credit for discovering the Palace of Knossos

belongs primarily to Sir Arthur Evans, but he was not the first archaeologist to dig there (Vaughan, 1959, p. 33).

In 1876, a Greek merchant, Minos Kalokairinos, was digging on a mound near Mount Juktas when he discovered a wall of enormous blocks of stone. The stones had peculiar scratch markings on their surfaces. He continued to dig and uncovered large, intricately patterned, brightly-painted vases.

Kalokairinos tried to keep his discovery secret but an American correspondent, W. J. Stillman, who was attached to The London Times, heard of the discovery. He went to Crete to verify the find. Along with Kalokairinos, he visited the ruins. The location of the find, the scratch marks on the abnormally huge stone walls and the various intricate passages leading to many rooms led Stillman to believe that Kalokairinos had discovered the labyrinth, the legendary home of King Minos' minotaur (Vaughan, 1959, p. 34).

Stillman reported the discovery in The London Times. The news attracted the attention of the Turkish authorities who owned the land. The government forbade all further explorations on the site.

Heinrich Schliemann also learned of the discovery and tried to obtain permission to excavate the site. The Turkish government refused to grant him permission to dig when he declined to accept their terms and conditions.

In 1893, Arthur Evans re-opened negotiations with the Turkish government, which finally gave him permission to

excavate the site on condition that he turn over all finds to the government.

Christos Tsountas was one of the outstanding Greek archaeologists in the final quarter of the nineteenth century. His most valuable contribution was a brilliant synthesis of new archaeological information in which he systematized the new finds (Tsountas, Christos. and J. Manat, 1893). The importance of this book is emphasized by the fact that no one of Tsountas' field experience had addressed this problem previously.

Tsountas was aware of Kalokairinos' discovery of a palace at Knossos. However, his book The Mycenaean Age was published several years before Evans expressed his views on the Minoan religion. Tsountas' views on the Aegean religion relied on past sources, such as the Homeric poems, philology and mythology, which represented Mycenaean religious beliefs rather than Minoan religious thought.

CHAPTER 2

THE EVANS PERIOD

1900-1924

This chapter outlines Arthur Evans' publications, achievements and hypotheses. A short paragraph describes several of Evans' contemporaries, mentioning their scholastic background, publications and views, refer to Appendix 1.

2.1 PERSONAL HISTORY

Arthur Evans was the son of Sir John Evans, a famous English paleontologist and a distinguished member of numerous geological and numismatic societies of nineteenth-century England. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and Honorary Secretary of the Geological and Numismatic Societies. Sir John's interest in these sciences and in ancient coins influenced his son Arthur to become absorbed in archaeology. He eventually excavated Greek, Roman and other ancient sites.

Evans' interest in ancient objects was whetted when he visited Heinrich Schliemann at Hissarlic in 1885. He was intrigued by the many seals and seal-stones which had been found on the mainland. He concluded that these seal stones originated in Crete (P/M, IV, p. 667, n. 1). He believed

that the seal-stones with their mysterious inscriptions were some sort of pre-alphabetic writing, which was centered in Crete (Evans, 1901, p. 8). He determined to collect samples of these and to try to decipher them (Cottrell, 1971, p. 21).

This interest caused Evans to go to Crete, where he discovered a civilization older than that of Mycenae, in fact, the oldest in Europe. He was so absorbed with exploring the Minoan civilization that he spent his personal fortune on this research. He built the Villa Ariadne near Herakleion to house the many artifacts found in the ruins.

Evans' discovery of the Palace of Minos is considered one of the major archaeological achievements of the early 20th century. He dominated Minoan scholarship while he was active. Any theory which he did not support did not have any chance of gaining wide acceptance. His research advanced the study of the history of the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean. He was knighted for his research in 1911.

Evans' discovery of a huge palace at Knossos in March, 1900, opened a new parameter in Aegean research. The palace had so many rooms that he immediately thought of the legend of Theseus, Ariadne and the minotaur of King Minos' labyrinth. He called this civilization Minoan after the legendary King Minos.

The excavation at Knossos revealed an ancient civilization which had been forgotten for thousands of years. Evans realized that, although he had come to Crete to

investigate Mycenaean writing, he had actually uncovered a lost civilization (Cottrell, 1971, p. 72).

Evans was fascinated by the splendor of the finds at Knossos. For the following forty years, he was so preoccupied with examining, cataloguing and describing the archaeological finds that he never proceeded with his original project, which was to decipher the seal-stones. Very little research was done on this subject until Evans' notes were released in 1952, eleven years after his death (Furumark, 1961, p. 90).

Evans was an evolutionist and a comparatist but in the field of Minoan religion his importance rests on the abundance of the material which he discovered, excavated and exhaustively published (Hogarth, V, 1900-1921, p. 197).

The period dominated by Evans is known for the abundant discoveries of many rich artifacts, excavations of cult sites and the discovery of many tombs, e.g., Xanthoudides found and cleared the tombs in the Mesara. During this period the emphasis was on clarifying the characteristics of the Minoan civilization.

Prior to Evans, scholars had little knowledge of the Minoan civilization (there was mention of Crete in Homer's version of the Trojan War: Iliad, 2, 645). They surmised that the Mycenaean religion emerged from more primitive religions. After Evans' discovery of the Minoan civilization scholars tended to agree initially that there was little difference between the religious beliefs of the Minoans and

Mycenaeans (NIlsson, 1924, p. 1).

Many of Evans' conclusions, hypotheses and theories pertaining to the Minoan social, economic and religious practices were influenced by the philological and mythological traditions of the 19th century. These theories were based on the humanistic scholarship of the past, not on the evidence obtained from modern non-humanistic disciplines such as geology, botany, zoology and archaeology.

Evans' conclusions were based on unsubstantiated theories. He did not have sufficient scientific archaeological expertise to interpret the true value of the evidence. There were no previous theories with which to compare his hypotheses nor any reason to question or contradict his findings. The assumptions that Evans postulated with his vivid imagination should be distinguished from the reality of the evidence found through archaeological excavations.

Early excavations were not conducted for scientific research but only to find sculptures, treasures and curiosities to be carried away (Wace, 1964, p. 20).

Evans' conclusions are partially accepted to-day. We will show how his theories have been modified and updated through the aid of modern scientific methods (Palmer, 1961, p. 250).

2.2 PUBLISHED WORKS

Evans describes the early form of pictographic and hieroglyphic writing of Cretan civilization in the Cretan Pictographs and Prae Phoenician Script (1896).

An influential work by Evans is the popular reference book on the Aegean religion, The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult (1901). Influenced by the ethnological school, Evans deduced that a principal feature of the Minoan-Mycenaean religion was the cult of trees, boughs, pillars, columns and baetylic rites (TPC, 1901, p. 58). This book was the bible for an introduction to the Minoan-Mycenaean religion. In it he describes the Minoan baetylic religion in depth (Refer to definition on p. 26). It was the most important source of information about the Minoan-Mycenaean baetyl religious practice in the early 20th century.

Another important work of Evans is the still popular Scripta Minoa, 1909. In this book he gives an account of the discovery of the Pre-Phoenician scripts, their place in Minoan history and their Mediterranean relation.

Evans' principal published work is the four-volume The Palace of Minos at Knossos, (1921-1935). This publication is actually an encyclopaedia, in which he meticulously describes every aspect of the Minoan civilization, culture and religion.

He contributed many articles and pamphlets to the

Hellenic Society, The London Times, The Manchester Guardian, the Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens and numerous other historical societies.

2.3 CONTRIBUTIONS

A major contribution by Evans was the establishment of a chronology for the Bronze age in Crete. He divided the Bronze age into three periods: Early Minoan (c.2900-2000 BC,), Middle Minoan (c.2000-1550 BC,) and Late Minoan (c.1550-1450 BC,). Later he sub-divided each of the three periods into three parts (P/M, I, p. 25)

Another major contribution by Evans was his deduction that the principal origin of the Mycenaean culture was in the far older civilization of Crete. According to Evans, it is inconceivable that there could have existed side by side two separate cultures with so many superficial resemblances (P/M, IV, pp. 283-284).

To solidify his theory, Evans refers to Egyptian objects found in the ruins at the palace of Knossos. These objects, such as scarabs and miniature statuettes, could be dated with certainty. After examining these objects, he determined that the Minoan palaces were older than the Mycenaean palaces. He came to this conclusion by comparing the age of the artifacts, such as stone vases, gem stones and pottery, found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, which date to c.1600 BC, with artifacts found at site at Knossos,

which date back to c.6000 BC (P/M, I, p. 24). The dating is confirmed by using Carbon 14.

Evans asserts that the Egyptian influence was very strong in the early stages of the development of the Minoan religion. It was later augmented by an Anatolian influence (P/M, I, p. 160: P/M, IV, p. 398). Evidence such as the Egyptian Ankh, the use of the Sistrum in the ritual dance depicted on the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha and the adoption of the double-spouted vessel for libation, similar to a primitive cult vessel of Set and Horus, suggest that Egypt had religious influence on the Cretans (Evans, JHS, XXXII (1912), p. 277ff: P/M, I, p. 81, figs 48-49). If originally the sources of the Minoan religion came from the Egyptian religion and later from the Anatolian religion there may have been a fusion of the Egyptian and the Minoan religions (P/M, I, p. 6).

Following his discoveries at Knossos, Evans concluded that the mainland was a Cretan colony and was ruled during this period (c.2000-1550 BC,) by a Cretan dynasty (P/M, II, p. 571). On this basis he asserts that the Mycenaean religion of the mainland during this period was a copy of the Minoan religion (P/M, I, p. 721).

The opinion of many of Evans' contemporaries was that Greece was not colonized from Crete but that the Greeks appropriated the Minoan culture by themselves. They believed that the mainland Greeks raided Crete and brought back the Minoan culture to the mainland (Nilsson, 1933, p. 72).

Evans believed that the Cretans controlled the Aegean waters. He implied that Crete was the dominant power in the Aegean and that Mycenae and Tiryns were outposts.

Evans cites Thucydides, who claimed that Minos was the earliest ruler to have a navy which controlled most of the Aegean waters. This domination of the area permitted the Cretans to colonize the mainland (Thucydides' History, translated by, R. Crowley, Dent, London, 1957).

Myres endorsed Evans' theory that in the early stages the mainland was a Cretan colony. According to Myres, the mainland cities of Pylos, Tiryns, Mycenae and other Mycenaean cities were colonies of Crete from EM III to about LM Ia (c.2200-1600 BC) (Myres, 1930).

2.4 SCRIPT

Evans' original goal when he came to Crete was to prove that the Mycenaeans, whoever they were, had a system of writing (Evans 1901, p. 8). He suggested that because the Egyptians and Babylonians knew how to read and write, a contemporary civilization as old as the Mycenaean must surely have been literate (P/M, I, p. 280).

Evans surmised that a form of writing existed in Crete before mainland Greece (Evans, 1901, pp. 8-9: Encyclopaedia Britannica, I, 1973, 115). The Minoan colonies on the islands, and the outposts on the mainland, suggest some form of trade, commerce and monetary payments. In order to keep

records of these trading transactions a system of writing was required. Clay tablets with scratch marks appeared not only in Crete but also on the Greek mainland, indicating a system of writing (Evans, 1909, p. 11).

The first positive evidence of writing in Crete appeared on clay tablets at the beginning of the palatial period, c.2200 BC,. This writing was known as pictographs or hieroglyphics (Encyclopaedia Britannica, I, 1973, 119). It ceased abruptly at the close of the Middle Minoan II (Evans, 1909, p. 612).

Another disclosure by Evans was that there were three forms of writing in Crete. He called the three forms:

1: a prehistoric "pictographic" script,

2: an early "hieroglyphic" form (primitive picture-writing),

3: the more sophisticated form of Cretan writing, which he divided into two categories, "Linear A and Linear B".

In Scripta Minoa (1909), Evans examines and compares Linear A with Linear B writing styles. The two systems used similar symbols but in different order (Cottrell, 1971, p. 30). Linear A appeared and was fully developed during the beginning of the Late Minoan period. According to Evans, Linear A is a symbolic writing system developed by the Minoans out of hieroglyphics in the early palace period. It continued in central and eastern Crete until the 15th

century, except at Knossos (P/M, I, pp. 612-613). It was not restricted to the palaces, but was also found in sanctuaries, caves and rural areas (Evans, 1909, p. 38).

Evans believed that the seal-stones, with their mysterious inscriptions, were some sort of pre-alphabetic writing. He was actually searching for something larger than miniature seals because the Egyptians and Babylonians had records written on baked clay tablets (Cottrell, 1971, p. 26).

Over 3000 clay tablets bearing the Linear B form of writing were found at Knossos, either in the palace itself, in the "Little Palace" or "House of the Fetish Shrine" c.1550-1500 BC (Evans, 1909, p. 38) (Encyclopaedia Britannica, III, 1973, 1011). Linear B script is a Greek script and was imported from the mainland. Evans refers to these as the Knossian Tablets (P/M, IV, p. 747).

The importance of the Knossian Tablets for understanding the Minoan religion cannot be over-emphasized. They indicate a fusion of the Minoan and Mycenaean religions. The Knossian Tablets list several distinct deities, some of whom may have been introduced by the Mycenaeans.

Evans assumes that Crete looked to the East for religious inspiration. Evidence derived from archaeological finds and to a lesser extent from linguistic studies indicate that Crete shared the religious Koine used throughout the Aegean during the Early Bronze Age (Koine was

the common or shared culture throughout the whole Aegean area) (P/M, I, p. 14).

Evans' contemporaries claim that there is not sufficient evidence to make such a conclusion. They point out that Crete also looked to the south, to Egypt, to Asia Minor and to Libya. Evidence, such as the Ankh and Sistrum, indicate that Crete drew some religious ideas from Egypt (P/M, I p. 19). The Minoan loin cloth seemed to have been imported from Libya (P/M, IV, p. 34; fig, 12 b,c).

2.5 GODDESS

The early versions of the Cretan goddess as mother-naked were "crude and naked" figurines in stone emphasizing the physical reproductive organs (P/M, IV, p. 428), which were inherited from Neolithic times and were never totally discarded, continuing from the beginning of the Middle Minoan ages onward to the Late Minoan I, era (P/M, IV, p. 27).

Evans found evidence of a mother-goddess everywhere. There are many depictions of the Mother-goddess on seal impressions and on gold signet rings dating to EM II, (P/M, I, pp. 161-162, figs. 115: 116). He believed that the Minoan goddess was a single divinity worshipped under different aspects.

Evans concluded that in Minoan Crete there were two deities, a female and a subordinate youthful acolyte (boy-

god, less in honor) (P/M, III, p. 143: pp. 468-469).

The consort, son or paramour of the goddess, dies in the fall and is reborn in the spring. Thus the goddess becomes associated with the Mater dolorosa of antiquity, who forever mourns her mortal consort (P/M, I, p. 161, Fig. 116). No real name is known for the goddess. Subsequently Linear B mentions two names, Potnia (means lady-like or elegant) and Wanassa (wanassa is the female form of wanax, which means leader or priest-king)(Dietrich, 1974, p. 181).

Evans suggests that most representations of the goddess on Minoan seals were the personification of the great mother-goddess who symbolized future deities such as Artemis, Athena, Aphrodite and Rhea (P/M, IV, pp. 143-144; 843-844).

The Minoan mother-goddess is identified through her associations with a variety of religious signs and symbols, such as birds, animals, flowers, snakes, double axes (the special emblem of the Minoan cult) (P/M, II, p. 248) and the horns of consecration (P/M, III, p. 457).

Evans describes a scene, of the goddess and the boy-god (from a drawing of fragments of a fresco depicted by E. GilliÉron, fils) in which the boy-god appears to be talking directly to the goddess. He postulates that this is a sort of sacra conversatione. This scene is the only known direct contact between the goddess and the youth. The divinity of both is attested by the elaborate tiaras which

they both wear (P/M, III, p. 456, fig 318).

2.6 POLYTHEISM

In Evans' period it had not been decided whether the Minoan religion was monotheistic, with a great female goddess who took many forms, or whether these forms represent a polytheistic form of many deities. Evans concluded that in the Cretan religion there were two deities. According to Evans, there is no evidence at this time of more than two deities. For this reason, Evans asserted that the Cretan religion was a modified form of Dual Monotheism with a great goddess and a male consort (P/M, II, p. 277).

Hogarth and Persson concur with Evans on the hypothesis of a Dual Monotheism (Hogarth, I, 1908-1925, p. 143: Persson, 1942, p. 8). Persson's opinion is that the Cretan mother-goddess was a universal deity (Persson, 1942, p. 8). She was goddess of nature herself with many attributes (Persson, 1942, p. 33).

2.7 BAETYL

Interest in the cult of baetyl increased in the 19th century. Baetyl (baetylus) is the pre-hellenistic belief that pillars, trees, and stones are the homes of the deities (Persson, I942, p. 13).

According to Evans, baetylic objects in the Minoan era almost always consisted of sacred stones, pillars and trees. Tree cults occurred in many primitive religions (TPC, 1901, p. 8).

Evans' opinion on Minoan baetylic religion is fully described in his book the Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult (I901). The importance of the tree in cult practices has been stressed by Evans (TPC, 1901, p. 99). Evans suggested that the tree was a temporary resting place for the divinity. The sacred tree is permanently fitted with divine life through its fruit and foliage (TPC, 1901, p. 35).

Evans postulated that the Minoan baetylic ritual usually consisted of naked or semi-naked ecstatic dancing figures leaning against or kissing a rounded stone (P/M, III, pp. 69ff).

On a gold signet ring from Knossos a male, descending in front of an obelisk, appears to be prepared to join the dancers (P/M, I, p. 160, fig 115). The figures could be men or women (P/M, III, 69, figs, 38, 39). The purpose of the ritual was to communicate, to locate and to induce the divinity to appear.

The pillar was associated with the tree. According to Evans, the pillar was similar to the tree and was an aniconic representation of the deity (TPC, 1901, p. 35). This dual cult may be regarded as an early form of religious evolution (TPC, 1901, p. 8). He claimed that the baetylic pillars were tombs of the divinities. The inert object was

always charged with the divinity invoking action.

Evans believed that in the Palace at Knossos the pillars in the rooms behind the "Room of the Column Base" were in fact "aniconic figures". He maintains that the "Double Axe" on the stone blocks indicates their special sanctity (Evans, 1914, pp 64; P/M, I, pp. 225: P/M, II, p. 180: TPC, 1901, p. 10).

Evans contends that the cult of the tree and stone is one of the main characteristics of the Minoan religion. The baetylic stone was always at hand as a material home for the spiritual being (TPC. 1901, p. 9). Only in this way does it become a real Beth-el (house of god). The outstanding example is the stone pillow of Jacob, which was literally Bethel, the house of god (TPC, 1901, p. I4; Genesis, XXVIII, 18; Persson, 1942, p. 7).

2.8 SYMBOLS

According to Evans, the double axe is the most sacred symbol of the aniconic cult of Crete. He claims that it was imported from Anatolia and is equal to the Anatolian labrys (P/M, I, p. 6). He contends that the double axe is the visible impersonation of the divinity. It was the aniconic form of the supreme Minoan-Mycenaean deity and was closely associated with the Semitic cult of sacred pillars (Evans, 1901, p. 9).

Evans based his conclusions on his study of Aegean art

(mainly glyptic). These conclusions were formulated in his interpretation of the gems, amulets and signets found in excavations in Crete (Evans, 1901, prefatory note).

Another object that, according to Evans, had religious significance was the Sacred Knot. This was a scarf in the form of a knot with a loop above and two fringed ends hanging down below (P/M, I, p. 430, fig 308). Persson agrees with Evans that the Sacred Knot had religious cult significance (Persson, I942, pp. 194-95).

The religious significance of the Sacred Knot in connection with the Minoan cult is found on a signet ring depicting a charging bull with a pair of knots (P/M, I, p. 432, fig. 310a). Further association of the goddess with the Sacred Knot is depicted in a scene where the goddess is standing while partaking of fruit from a sacred tree on which is a version of a Sacred Knot (P/M, I, p. 432, fig 310c).

In room 17 of the Palace of Knossos fragmentary evidence of the Sacred Knot in a fresco was found appearing on the shoulders of the goddess and her handmaidens (P/M, II, p. 284, fig. 168). Another example that stresses the association of the goddess with the Sacred Knot is what appears to be a female votary wearing a Sacred Knot on her shoulders (P/M, I, p. 433).

2.9 MATRIARCHAL SOCIETY

Evans claimed that there are many indications of a Minoan matriarchal society. The frescoes in the Palace of Minos depict large gatherings dominated by females. Evans contends that the non-admission of males among the women seated in the front row depicted in the "Temple and Grand Stand Fresco", suggests a female-dominated society (P/M, III, p. 58).

The prominence of the ladies in the frescoes was distinctly emphasized. In the frescoes the women are much larger than the men. The ladies are seated in front rows, the place of honor. They are elaborately dressed and coiffed. The men are depicted in the upper rows with only their heads and necks showing (P/M, III, p. 60, fig. 28).

Care should be taken, the importance of women is certainly stressed in the frescoes. A feminine atmosphere does seem to prevail in Minoan society, but a feminine atmosphere does not symbolize a matriarchal society, only the importance of Minoan women. Refer to the gender of what is known of Minoan rulers, such as Minos and Rhadmanthus, are they feminine or masculine?

Males and females are present in the frescoes but both sexes are seldom seen together. The segregation of the sexes is emphasized in the "Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco" (P/M, III, p. 60). Caution must be observed in drawing conclusions

as men and women are shown together in the pit below in the Miniature Fresco (P/M, III, p. 350).

In the frescoes, which are dominated by females, the women are depicted in elegant court dress emphasizing their importance. They are watching bull-games and other agonistic sports in which women participate. All these are probably of a religious nature.

The important position of women in Minoan society is emphasized in the Sarcophagus of Hagia Triadha. Women, dressed in special clothes, officiate during services. The sole male who appears is depicted in a secondary role.

According to Evans, the Queen's hall in the Palace at Knossos was a female retreat (P/M, III, p. 227) and the "Room of the Double Axes" was a male reserve. The king's "Room of the Double Axes" is larger than the Queen's hall. The king's megaron (state hall) was introduced from the mainland (c.I550 BC,), indicating a shift in political power in which the male divinity seemed to have replaced the mother-goddess. Caution should be observed, since some parts of the palace date from c.1850 BC. This appears to be a contradiction since the king's megaron dates to the Mycenaean period. The megaron was probably an addition to the old palace.

2.10 PEAK SANCTUARIES

Peak sanctuaries, according to Evans, represented one of the chief sites of Minoan cult worship (P/M, I, pp. 153-154), yet they give no information about the nature of the cult or the deity who was worshipped in these places. The majority of the early scholars who wrote about cult places ignored peak sanctuaries (Dussand, 1914. p. 327).

2.11 PALACES

Evans claims that the palaces were the centers of administration, the royal residences and the sites of cult activities. The primary function of the palaces was religious (P/M, I, pp. 4-5). He contends that the Minoan palaces were saturated with religious elements implied by the constant appearance of the labrys (double axe) on the stone blocks (P/M, I, p. 4). Prior to c.2000 BC, there were no palaces at Knossos or at any other sites. There is evidence of a building, the "House on the Hilltop" at Vasiliki, but whether it was a house or a palace is uncertain (Pendlebury, 1979, p. 62, fig. 5).

Evans believes that at the beginning of the age of the palaces a strong influence reached Crete from the First Babylonian Empire (P/M, II, pp. 267-268).

Evans strongly emphasizes that the Egyptian influence

on the palaces in Crete occurred as early as the pre-dynastic Egyptian era. The three main phases of Minoan history roughly correspond with the Early, the Middle and the earlier part of the New Kingdom in Egypt. The development of the Minoan palaces from the Middle to the Late Minoan Age, seems to co-incide with development of the architecture of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms of Egypt (allowing a century or two for evolution) (P/M, I, pp. 25-28). This connection is authenticated by the similarities in material and decoration of the pottery used by the Cretans and the Egyptians (P/M, I, pp. 13-16).

Evans regarded the Throne Room in the Palace of Knossos as a probable site of divine epiphany (P/M, I, p. 4). According to Evans, the benches in the Throne Room held cult statuettes and jars to hold the sacred oil. Griffins were depicted in the background. A lustral area, apparently for rites of initiation or purification, and the constant appearance of the double axe support his conclusions (P/M, IV, p. 4, part 11, Plate on inner cover).

Evans suggests that a priest-king sat on the throne in the Throne Room at Knossos (P/M, I, p. 5). This conclusion contradicted his theory that women dominated the Minoan civilization. If women dominated the Minoan society, as Evans implies, would it not be more likely that a woman sat on the throne? How do we know that a priestess and not a priest-king sat on the throne?

Because of Evans' graphic description, archaeologists

are inclined to regard many rooms in the palace at Knossos as shrines. Caution should be observed, however, in accepting Evans' description and interpretation of the Palace of Knossos. His preconceived ideas seem to be the basis for his conclusions on the Cretan civilization.

Evans claims that the West wing of the Palace of Knossos was saturated with objects of religious content (P/M, I, p. 4). It is significant that in the Evans period no temples were believed to exist in Crete. This gives credence to Evans' contention that the palaces were religious centers in themselves.

Evans contends that the inhabitants of Knossos destroyed the other Cretan palaces and under a more aggressive dynasty assumed control of the island c.I500 BC, (P/M, IV, pp. 84-87).

CHAPTER 3

THE NILSSON PERIOD

1925-1950

3.I PERSONAL HISTORY

Martin P. Nilsson was born in Kristianstad, Sweden, on July 12, 1874 and died on April 7, 1967. He decided not to follow the family vocation of farming, and enrolled instead in the University at Lund in 1892.

Nilsson graduated as a Doctor of Philosophy in 1899. When he completed his doctoral thesis, Studia Archaeologia, he was rewarded by being appointed the first docent in Swedish academic history. This "docentship" in Greek language and literature permitted him to teach epigraphy, sculpture and Greek vase painting. In 1909 he was appointed to the chair at the University of Lund. He was a capable administrator and was rewarded with the title "rector magnificus" (vice-chancellor) at the University of Lund in I936. He retained this post until he retired in 1939.

Nilsson was Honorary Secretary to the Royal Society of the Humanities in Lund and vice-chairman of the Swedish Institute of Rome. He resided in the USA for a time and taught at the University of California at Berkeley. He lived

during the golden age of Swedish Classical Studies (1922-1965) (Knudtzon & Cjerstad, 1968, p. 28).

Nilsson became interested in archaeology and excavated in Rhodes in 1905-1906. He researched all the branches pertaining to the subject of Classical archaeology and Greek piety. He was not a field archaeologist but was primarily an authority on mythology and religion and was a trained philologist, a historian, an expert critic and a synthesist.

Nilsson investigated the origin and meaning of the Swedish festivals and their connection with the rhythms of the agricultural year. He concentrated on classical philology, archaeology, ancient proto-history and studies on Scandinavian folk culture, legends and beliefs. He was a prolific writer, lecturer, an art historian and an outstanding teacher. He published innumerable reviews, popular works, short articles and full-length books on Mycenaean Greek and ancient history.

Nilsson combined a complete mastery of all facets of ancient Greek society. He published works on the Greek tyrants, the structure of Spartan society, the proto-history of Greece, the Greek theater and the origins of Greek tragedy. He lived so long that he was able to place his work and that of others into a historical perspective.

3.2 PUBLICATIONS

Nilsson used three sources for the reconstruction of the Minoan religion: mythology, language and archaeology (MacDonald, and Thomas, 1990, p. 285).

Nilsson's first major work on Greek religion was Griechische Feste religiöser Bedeutung (I906), in which he examined the rites of primitive peoples and the nature of religious festivals. His research into the classics and folklore is brought together in this volume. He describes the peasant religion in its ancient Greek form and its survival in Scandinavian folk culture. This made him proficient in ethnography and ethnology.

Nilsson's I924 book on the Minoan religion, A History of Greek Religion was the turning point in the assessment of the Minoan-Mycenaean civilization and religion to this date. He was the first scholar to make a comprehensive survey of all the known material on the Minoan-Mycenaean religion. During this period Nilsson's emphasis was on synthesizing the characteristics of the Minoan religion and determining the function of religion in Minoan society (Furumark, I956, p. 198).

The History of Greek Religion (1924), on the Minoan-Mycenaean religion, is the model work for the study of Minoan religion. In it Nilsson correlates the archaeological evidence with the iconographic evidence of the Middle Minoan period. It still is a principal source on the subject of the

Minoan-Mycenaean religion. The work has had a tremendous influence on current scholars. As late as 1980, Hägg believed it to be the main book on this subject (Hägg, 1980, p. 227).

The following three books should be considered as a unit. The Origin of Greek Mythology, 1924: Homer and Mycenae, 1933: and The Minoan and Mycenaean Religion, 1940. In these, he describes the connections among cults, myths and fairy tales between the proto-history of Greece and the Classical period. Homer and Mycenae (1933) outlines the development of scholarship of Mycenaean studies between the two world wars.

Nilsson's two monumental works, Volumes 1 and 2 of Geschichte der Griechischen Religion (1941), summarize the results of his life-long research on the Minoan civilization.

3.3 DOCTRINES

In his discussion of Greek mythology, Nilsson claims that, with the creation of epic poetry, Greek mythology forms as large a subject as religion, that mythology reinforces the creation of epic poetry and, more important, that the mythology of the Greeks originated in the Minoan era and was later translated into Hellenic Greek. He mentions figures cited in Linear B, such as Zeus, Hyakinthos, Diktyanna, Rhadamanthys and Britomaris (Nilsson,

1924, p. 29).

Scholars who opposed Nilsson's theory based their view on two points:

1: Many names of Greek mythological figures which describe common names, such as Achilles and Theseus on the Linear B Tablets, only subsequently became associated with figures of legend (Sacconi, 1960, p. 161, ff).

2: The virtual absence, or extreme scarcity, of identifiable mythological scenes in art from the Mycenaean to the Geometric Age (Banti, L. 1954. pp 307 ff).

Nilsson's 1950 publication (a revised edition of A History of Greek Religion, 1924) on the Minoan-Mycenaean religion, was the most important treatment to this period on the subject of distinguishing the differences between the Minoan and Mycenaean religions. In it he discusses, describes and illustrates virtually every religious object known to this time (Hooker, 1977, p. 191).

In the 1950 version, he discusses the evolution of the Minoan religion. He clarifies the conclusions outlined in the 1924 edition and treats the Minoan and Mycenaean religions as two separate entities. Nilsson differentiates between the Minoan and the Mycenaean religions in every way (below pp. 45-46). According to Nilsson, "There is no justification for confusing the two" (MMR, p. 17).

We must take into consideration that the 1950 version

of the Minoan-Mycenaean religions was written before Linear B was deciphered. Linear B changed the understanding of the two religions by contemporary scholars.

The Nilsson era was a period of great research. The characteristic features of this age were the discoveries and excavations of numerous cult sites. These discoveries facilitated the interpretation and clarification of the Minoan religion. Scholars of the early Nilsson period originally agreed that little difference existed between the Minoan and the Mycenaean religions and that there was no distinction between their religious beliefs (Nilsson, 1924, p. 1).

Due to a lack of literature, Nilsson claimed that the Minoan civilization cannot be fully understood as long as it is contemplated by itself. It must be analyzed and studied in the context of other cultures, and especially on the basis of comparative religions (Nilsson, 1924, p. 2).

Nilsson contends that anyone who wishes to understand the Minoan religion must have a clear understanding of the meaning of the landscape as represented in the pictorial reliefs. These reliefs are saturated with religious beliefs which are foreign to us. The landscape is inundated with sacred enclosures, images, small shrines, cult-pillars and sacred trees (P/M, II, pp. 118-119).

A tremendous social and political revolution occurred in Crete during the Late Minoan Ia period. This implies that

a change of power probably occurred at the beginning of the neo-palatial period. Nilsson surmises, "If there was a change in political power, why not a change of religion?" (MMR, pp. 16-17).

The discovery of the Minoan civilization and its religion raised a problem for dating Classical Greek religion (MMR, p. 2). It can no longer begin with the primitive conceptions of religion and then proceed to the religion of Homer and of the archaic era: the Minoan religion must be inserted between them. Not only was a new period added to the general history of religion, but more important, it was recognized that the people who founded the Minoan Religion were not Greeks or of a kindred Indo-European ancestry (MMR, p. 2).

Nilsson disagrees with Evans' claim that the Cretans subdued the mainland Greeks and imposed their religion on the Mycenaeans. Nilsson and many Cretan scholars adhere to the opinion that the Mycenaeans overran Crete and brought the Minoan religion to mainland Greece (MMR, p. 17).

Nilsson claims that at some time in the second millennium BC, the Mycenaeans invaded Crete. The Mycenaean population of the mainland, whom the Cretan colonists had originally subjugated and on whom they had imposed their religious beliefs, turned against their masters at this time. After conquering them, the new rulers introduced their religious beliefs to the Minoans and probably fused their religion with the Minoan religion (MMR, p. 27).

Hall refutes Nilsson's theory that the Minoan religion was brought to the mainland by the Minoans. According to Hall, Crete was invaded by the mainland Greeks c.LM Ia-Ib. The Minoan religion was brought to the mainland by the conquerors of Crete. This may have influenced the mainlanders to adopt the Minoan religion (Hall, 1923, p. 247).

According to Nilsson, the upper classes of the Mycenaean Greek society were thoroughly Minoanized in religion because the Minoan religion was probably of a higher standard than that of the invading Greeks. It was normal for royalty and the wealthy to adopt a culture higher than their own (MMR, p. 26). The Cretan masses retained their religious beliefs and the old gods of Linear A. It appears that conditions at this time, c.LM Ia, Ib, were favorable for blending the Minoan and Mycenaean Greek religions and their gods. The fusion of gods of a conquered people with the the gods of the conquerors was a universal practice among subjugated people in ancient times (MMR, p. 3)

These changes are attested to by the evidence found in the changes in pottery and metal objects (Branigan, 1970). The decipherment of Linear B by Ventris in 1952 confirmed this change of power in Cretan politics.

Before the racial differences between the Minoans and the Mycenaeans were diagnosed, analogies from the Classical Greek religion were freely used. It is an established fact

that the religion of the Bronze Age of Greece, which was introduced in Crete by early settlers, (artifacts were found which date to Late Neolithic c.6000 BC) (Nilsson, 1924, p. 12), was not founded by a Grecian nor an Aryan race (Nilsson, 1924, p. 1), caution should be observed before drawing conclusions (MMR, p. 8). Some scholars propose that the Minoan religion may have been a derivative of the Indo-European culture, and others attempt to connect the Minoans with the ancient religions of the East--of the Semitic world and of Egypt (MMR, p. 10).

Scholars who originally studied the Minoan-Mycenaean religions agreed unanimously that there was little difference between them. The structures with religious representations from the mainland were indistinguishable from those found in Crete (MMR, p. 6: Rodenwaldt, 1921, p. 50).

Nilsson partially agrees with Evans' theory of Egyptian influence (refer to p. 21). He attaches greater weight to the connections between the Minoan-Mycenaean religion and the religions of Asia Minor (Nilsson, 1924, p. 11). The racial affinities between the Minoan-Mycenaean religion and the religions of Asia Minor are more apparent. There are philological indications that the pre-Grecian population and the primitive population of Asia Minor belonged to the same race (Nilsson, 1924, p. 1).

Nilsson surmises that the Minoans may have borrowed a part of their religion from the Semitic and the Babylonian

cultures. However, traces of Semitic and Babylonian influence upon the Minoan-Mycenaean culture are vague and difficult to detect (Nilsson, 1924, p. 10). The racial differences are debatable. There is evidence of different languages, but a different language does not necessarily mean a different race.

Originally, Nilsson treated the Minoan and the Mycenaean religions as identical to each other. He based his conclusion on the similarity of the monumental evidence with religious representations on the mainland as almost indistinguishable from those found in Crete. He admits later that this was a wrong approach. Images may cover different ideas and conceal them. Basically, he did not change his principal ideas regarding the two religions except that he came to believe that they incorporate some different concepts (MMR, p. 30). In the 1950 edition, he contended that the religious representations, although they appear to be similar, have different religious connotations (refer to pp. 45-46 for differences).

Nilsson asserts that the Minoan religion, as well as the religions of primitive peoples all over the world, tied their calendar to the seasons of the year (Festkalender). According to Nilsson, the Minoan religion was a natural religion and was similar to the Mycenaean religion (MMR, p. 2).

Natural religion is associated with the soil. Political power, lands and language may change but new rulers continue

to pay homage to the gods of the subjugated inhabitants. The evidence is that the Minoan religion originated in Crete. Nilsson claims that it was original and independent, as was Minoan art (Nilsson, 1924, p. 24).

Furumark, however, proved conclusively on archaeological grounds that mainland Greece was neither colonized nor ruled by the Minoans (Furumark, 1960, p. 87). The supposition of a Minoan domination of the mainland has also been disproved by Mylonas (Mylonas, 1940, p. 11)

Scholars who concur with Nilsson that there was a reflux from the mainland to Crete in the middle of the second millennium base their opinion on the following evidence: (MMR, pp. 17-20):

1: The megaron, which was the central room of the Mycenaean palaces, was unknown in Crete except in the Late Minoan era.

2: The dress of the Mycenaean men, a tunic with short sleeves, is not Minoan, but the ladies adopted the Minoan flounced skirt and open jacket.

3: The use of script was a rarity on the mainland. A great number of seal impressions were found in Crete. Professor Wace found at Pylos in 1939 about 600 tablets in Linear B script similar to the tablets used only at Knossos in the second Late Minoan period. Care should be taken, these may have been imported from Crete, or made by

Cretan artisans.

3.4 POLYTHEISM

Nilsson contends that the Minoans practiced a form of polytheism rather than the form of monotheism Evans had proposed (MMR, p. 30). He believed that a pantheon of gods and goddesses existed in Crete during the Minoan period. He agreed with Professor Picard's opinion that in Minoan Crete there was a polytheistic pantheon of divinities (Picard, 1948, pp. 75 and 87 resp: MMR, p. 394, notes 6 and 7).

Nilsson refutes Evans' theory that there is no evidence of more divinities. He believed that the same figures, implements and pictures may have served different religious ideas. He claims that the different circumstances, places and ritual apparatus of cults suggest a host of divinities. (Nilsson, 1940; p. 84). Rose proposed a similar theory (Rose, H. J. I928, p. 46).

Dietrich disagrees with Nilsson. He points out that there is nowhere a representation of a plurality of gods in Crete (Dietrich, I974, p. I74: P/M II, p. 226ff, Supp, Pl.I: XXI, 469: MMR, p. 301). As is seen, during the periods of Evans and Nilsson each theory had its own supporters.

3.5 SANCTUARIES

Nilsson paid little attention to peak sanctuaries (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 6). He discussed them briefly (Nilsson, 1950, pp. 71-77). Evans, on the other hand, firmly believed that sanctuaries were the principal religious sites (P/M, I, p. 163). Pendlebury gives a precise account of the importance of the sites (Pendlebury, 1939, pp. 273-75).

Nilsson acknowledges that caves and rock shelters were the most ancient sanctuaries (MMR, p. 54). According to Nilsson, caves and rock shelters were not only cult sites, but were also used as burial places dating back to EM I and EM II (MMR, p. 56).

The evidence found in peak sanctuaries and caves gives no information about the nature of the cult or the deity who was worshipped in these places. The only criterion for determining whether a building or room was a sanctuary is the presence of what are considered sacred objects used only for cultic practices. The types of sanctuaries did not vary greatly but there were many of them. They were never identical. There were domestic shrines, pillar crypts, cave and peak sanctuaries.

Nilsson contended that a peak sanctuary is a site on top of a mountain with an elevation over the surrounding area.

There are no ground rules for the description of a sanctuary. The terminology is not always consistent.

Sanctuaries may be divided into two groups, rural and urban:

1: Those outside built-up areas: caves, peak sanctuaries and sacred enclosures.

2. Those inside a settlement: domestic shrines, pillar crypts, sacred repositories and lustral basins in town squares and courtyards.

Originally sanctuaries were believed to be situated only in rural areas (MMR, p. 71). This view was proposed at first by Karo in 1904 and met with wide acceptance (Karo, 1904, p. 117). The discovery of many domestic sanctuaries in urban locations in the 1930s influenced Nilsson and Karo to reject this idea (MMR, pp. 5-7). Nilsson stresses the reasons for erecting a sanctuary on an old site which already had a religious tradition:

1: The place was considered holy.

2: Sacred cult practices were carried on at the site from one era to another.

3.6 GODDESS

It is generally agreed by many scholars that the Minoan religion, with its chthonic and mystic overtones, was practiced throughout the Aegean era. The Minoans and the Mycenaeans probably shared the same mother-goddess, with her consort-son who was fated to die at the end of the old year only to be reborn in the spring.

Nilsson partially agreed with Evans' hypothesis that the goddess is one deity who appeared in different guises (Nilsson, 1924, p. 18). In Crete she incorporated all aspects of nature. She appeared as a deity with attributes of birds, snakes, signs and symbols. In Minoan religion, the mother-goddess is a composite figure of many forms. As Eileithyia, she presided over the birth of children. She is presented on mountain tops, inferring that she is "Mistress of the Mountains" (MMR, p. 390). She is often shown holding two lions, one on each side, suggesting that she is "Mistress of Animals" (MMR, p. 389).

Nilsson refers to a mountain-goddess, a snake-goddess and a shield-goddess (Evans confirms that Nilsson believed this theory (P/M, I p. 457, note 1. Rose agrees with Nilsson on this premise (Rose, H.J. 1928, p. 46).

Nilsson speaks of a celestial goddess, a terrestrial goddess, an infernal goddess, a mountain-goddess, a snake goddess and a shield-goddess (MMR, 1950, pp. 389ff: Furumark, 1961, pp. 3-21).

Dietrich points out that there is nowhere a representation of a plurality of gods in Crete(P/M, II, 226ff, Supp, PL XXI; III, 469; MMR, 301: Dietrich, 1974, p. 174).

Nilsson cites Harrison's view that the goddess, who takes many diverse forms, developed into deities such as Dictynna, Britomaris, Velchanos, Athena and Artemis in Hellenic Greece. Nilsson concurs with Harrison regarding

this premise (Harrison, 1908: MMR. p. 339).

Nilsson believes that the snake goddess is one of the most important of the Minoan deities (BSA. IX, 1903, pp. 35 ff). The snake also symbolizes immortality. Snakes shed their skins, an action associated with fertility and renewal of life (Willetts, 1962, p. 74). The snake goddess was worshipped in domestic shrines. She is the patroness of marriage and the patroness of the home.

Nilsson contends that the goddess with the raised hands is a domestic goddess (MMR. pp. 100-102, figs, 24; 25; 26). He based his conclusions on the figurines of the snake goddess found in the Temple Repositories (P/M, I, pp. 495-523). However, he asserts that not all the figurines of the snake goddess from the Temple Repositories have raised hands and that those of later goddesses with raised hands may not be domestic goddesses (P/M, IV, p. 177, fig. 139). He determined that the snake goddess occurred in the house or palace sanctuaries. Thus the cult of the snake-goddess is a domestic cult, the snake is one of her attributes and she represented a domestic goddess as well as a chthonic one (MMR, pp. 183-184: p. 324).

Some scholars believe that the Minoans considered snakes, as guardians of the house, to be the spirits of deceased ancestors, who after their death protect the house (MMR, p. 328) (Picard, 1948, p. 113). It should be noted that the snake goddess is known only through her idols and shrines. She does not appear on gems and seals. There are no

artifacts to connect her with any other goddess (MMR, p. 397).

3.7 ZEUS

The story of Zeus, according to Nilsson, is particularly of Cretan origin. Zeus was worshipped in the Dictaean cave, where he was called the "Divine Child". Zeus' birth was first mentioned by Homer, who described a cave closely identified with the Dictaean cave of Psychro (Iliad, 1.7). This cave was frequented during the height of the Minoan civilization (MMR, pp. 458-459; pp. 534-535). The cult of Zeus-Kretagenes was also known as the cult of Dictaean Zeus.

Nilsson devotes considerable attention to the "Divine Child" being raised by nymphs and animals (MMR, p. 542). According to Nilsson, the Cretan Zeus was a vegetation god, similar to the Egyptian God Osiris, who was fated to die and be reborn each year. This theory is identical to Evans' belief in the youthful Cretan male Zeus (P/M, I, p. 163; P/M, III, pp. 467-69).

Nilsson claimed that the extensive description of the birth of Zeus in the Dictaean cave and the burial of Zeus on Mt. Juktas is conclusive proof that the Mycenaean religion had its origin in Crete (MMR, p. 542).

Nilsson does not commit himself on the site where Zeus was born, as Evans did (P/M, III, p. 466).

the birth may have occurred on the summit of Mt. Ida (MMR, p. 65). Another cave associated with Zeus is Mt. Juktas, where Zeus is believed to be buried (MMR. p. 65). The cave-cult continued until the Late Minoan III period.

Hesiod also mentions Zeus (Hesiod, Theogony, V, p. 447) (Note that Hesiod wrote just after Homer, about 600 years after the collapse of the Minoan civilization and 500 years before the Hellenistic period).

Nilsson claimed that it is impossible to continue the early tradition that the tomb of Zeus is on Mt. Juktas. He claimed that the location of the site was handed down from generation to generation to the masses and eventually became an established belief (MMR, p. 462).

Nilsson asserted that, the birth-place of Zeus is placed at several sites in order to arrive at a conciliatory tendency (an attempt to satisfy all theories). Scholars solved the dilemma, by "supposing that Zeus was born in the Dictaean cave, educated in the Idaean cave and buried on Mt. Juktas" (MMR, pp. 534-535, Note, 3) (Diodorus, V. 70). Zeus was not a domestic god as were the Dioscuri. (The Dioscuri were children, born to Leda and Zeus. They were believed to be protectors of the home and were heroes on earth and later worshipped as gods)(Morford and Lenardon, 1977, p. 306).

A major difference between the Classical Greek religion and the Minoan religion is that in the Classical religion Zeus is the immortal supreme ruler and father of all. In the Classical period, the gods and goddesses had their own well-

powerful Zeus. In the Minoan religion, Zeus seemed to be subject to the all-powerful mother-goddess. He is depicted as a young divinity (this could be a version of a youthful Zeus) who dies and is reborn each spring. This dual role of Zeus is another difference between the Minoan and Classical religions. There is no evidence that Zeus was the consort of the Minoan goddess. This a modern assumption "that a female should have a male consort".

3.8 BURNT SACRIFICE

Nilsson did not deny that sacrifice was practiced in the Minoan religion, but he did not devote much study to the subject (MMR, Chapter 2, pp. 230-235). However, he has not committed himself as to whether the Minoans practiced burnt-flesh sacrifices. He pointed out that the evidence is inconclusive. He was not satisfied with the conclusions drawn from Homeric epic, and does not know how far to trust these legends in drawing conclusions regarding the Minoan religion.

3.9 Baetyl

According to Nilsson, epiphany (the attempt too communicate, to induce the deity to appear and reveal itself), is a key to understanding Minoan religious representation. He contended that baetylic religion had its

representation. He contended that baetylic religion had its origin in Crete (Nilsson, 1924, p. 27). He claimed that there was an epiphany of animals as well as human beings. Nilsson believed that birds were important epiphanies. He postulated that birds were considered by the Minoans to be the representations of the gods. As such, they were the epiphanies of the deities. The birds were signs of the presence of the gods to whom the sacrifice was being made. They were seen sitting on ritual buildings or on holy objects during sacrificial rites, as on the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha (MMR, p. 330).

One ceremony, the ecstatic ritual dance, constantly occurred when conjuring the epiphany. Another rite, which often accompanies the dance, is the ritual shaking of the tree.

Nilsson alleged that snakes as well as birds were a form of epiphany of the gods (MMR, p. 332).

Nilsson agreed with Evans that the Tree and Pillar cult was very prominent in Minoan religion (Nilsson, 1924, p. 27). He claimed that the pillar was not sacred in itself but may have been a cult object in certain contexts.

Nilsson disagreed with Evans' contention that the pillar is the fetish of a god (MMR, pp. 245-246: P/M, II, pp. 180) It appeared to be a common custom in ancient times to anoint a pillar as a sacred object, as Jacob did to the stone erected by him at Bethel.

Platon, on the other hand, attaches the least weight to

the religious pillar. Platon is an important critic. His research on crypts, published in 1954, revealed new evidence on this subject (Platon, IK, 96)

In antiquity, trees, poles and pillars were worshipped as the visible abodes of the deities. Some iconic and aniconic cult objects in the Minoan-Mycenaean tradition were found in Anatolia and Syria. Nilsson suggested, on the basis of these theories, a possibility that there existed some form of religious contact between Crete and Asia Minor in the Bronze age (MMR, p. 11).

3.10 SYMBOLS

Nilsson alleged that the principal Minoan cult symbols were the double axe, the horns of consecration, the bull, the snake, the bird and the sacred knot.

Burkert agreed, contending that there is no question that the double axe is a religious symbol (Burkert, 1985, p. 38).

According to Nilsson, the two main symbols in the pre-historic Minoan religion are the double axe and the horns of consecration. These two are the most often depicted symbols associated with religious practices. Of all the signs and symbols, the double axe is the most common. It is found all over Crete (MMR, p. 194).

The oldest known specimens of double axes, dating to Early Minoan II, come from a grave at Mochlos dating to

tholos tomb adjoining the residences at Haghia Triadha and at Planatanos (MMR, 195-196). Other examples are a group of golden axes found at Arkhalokhori and Psychro dating to EM III (P/M, 1V, p. 346, fig. 290). Painted or engraved representations of the double axe were found in the tomb of the Double Axes near Knossos belonging MM III or to Late Minoan era (MMR, p. 199, Figs, 92, 93, 94: Evans, 1914, pp. 53, fig. 71).

Nilsson believed that the double axe originally was a sacrificial axe (MMR, pp. 221-224). He is of the opinion that the double axe entered cult rituals by virtue of its use as an instrument of sacrifice. Eventually it lost its credence because of its mundane adaptation (MMR, p. 229).

The double axes may be miniature, standard or oversize. They are made of bronze, gold, silver, lead or wood. It is known from depictions on gem-stones that they were placed on a stand.

Double axes had different uses. Some were used as tools in everyday life while others, used in ritual activities, were constructed differently.

The mundane tool-axe was heavier. The blades were thicker at the middle, through which the shaft hole was bored. The edges and its blunt side were slightly curved. The ritual double axe differed from the everyday tool and was more elaborately decorated (MMR, p. 195). It was unfit for practical use. It was too thin or too small. Some had a small pin for a handle, others were made of wood or of stone

small pin for a handle, others were made of wood or of stone (MMR, pp. 195-199). In the ritual axe the sides and the edges were strongly curved so that the tips of the blades formed a pointed or horn-shaped projection.

The double axe is often found between the horns of consecration. This confirms the interpretation of the double axe as a sacred object (MMR, p. 69).

The appearance of the double axe in the burial rituals depicted on the Sarcophagus of Hagia Triadha suggests that the double axe is associated with the cult of the dead. This appearance established the significance of the double axe in the Minoan burial practice (MMR, p. 216).

According to Nilsson, most scholars believed that the double axe is a symbol of a deity. It was the weapon of the thunder-god, which he hurled down to the earth (MMR, p.220). The double axe was never in the hands of a male god. It was handled by ministers of the cult or carried by women (MMR, p. 226: Evans, BSA, V111).

Gansineiec objected to the interpretation that the double axe was a cult object. He recognized its ritual use as a sacrificial axe and its connection with the cult in some manner which we cannot know definitely (Gansineiec, R., 1925).

Persson concurred with Evans, he suggested that the double axe was connected with a deity (Persson, 1942, p. 92).

Nilsson disagreed with Evans' claim that the Sacred

Knot was another religious symbol. According to Nilsson, there is very little evidence to suggest that the Sacred Knot was a religious symbol. Nilsson made two suggestions for its use.

1: It was a prize in the bull games.

2: It was a detail of a costume in female contemporary fashion (MMR, pp. 163-164; 210-213).

CHAPTER 4

CONTEMPORARY SCHOLARS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the death of Evans in 1941, new generations of archaeologists and art historians have been re-evaluating and revising his conclusions about the Minoan religion. They are combining his theories with their conclusions, which were formulated with the assistance of new disciplines and new methods. The opinions, hypotheses and theories of contemporary scholars concerning the Minoan religion will be presented in this chapter.

The investigations by the new breed of scholars are expanding the parameters of the study of the Minoan religion. They base their conclusions on evidence obtained from architecture, art, archaeological analysis, pottery and the latent meaning of the content in the landscapes of the frescoes (Cadogan, 1986, p. 153: Hooker, 1977, p. 21).

Additional evidence of the Minoan religion comes from cult-sites, cult practices and paraphernalia of the cult (Dietrich, 1974: Vermeule, 1974). Further evidence is derived from peak sanctuaries, tombs, palaces and sacred sites (Hooker, 1977, p. 192).

Recently, research has focused on sacrifice, ritual,

sacred clothes, processions, singing, dancing, athletic games, cult meals and burial customs. These practices provide vital clues to unraveling the mysteries of the Minoan religion. Contemporary scholars are investigating the connection between art and religion (Marinatos, 1986, p. 7). They believe that there is an association between the latent meaning in art and Minoan religious beliefs. They postulate that the evidence from these must be examined class by class and must be studied in the chronological framework established for the Aegean Bronze Age if the Minoan religion is to be unravelled (Hooker, 1977, p. 192): Cadogan, 1986, p. 154).

A major difference between the time of Evans and the modern era is that archaeological explorations from 1901-1925 lacked the explicit details of later reports.

Early archaeologists had a mania for interpreting most of the evidence of their era in terms of religion and symbolism. They were more romantic in the interpretation of their research on Aegean history, and carried this romanticism into their writing. Early excavations were not conducted for scientific research but only to find treasures and curiosities to carry away. They were part-time Classical scholars and part-time sophisticated grave robbers.

The problems with the efforts of early archaeologists involved their poor method of recording their finds; they were without direction, reports were published tardily, the reports were neither properly identified nor meticulously

documented. The failure to publish excavation reports promptly was a major stumbling block in evaluating the chronology of caves. Fellow archaeologists did not have access to the latest information. For example, Evans excavated on Mt. Juktas in 1909 but his report was not published until 1921.

Due to the immaturity of the archaeological technique during this period, a great amount of stratigraphical evidence was destroyed, resulting in the information being lost forever. Scholars of this period did not understand the true value of the finds nor the significance of the orientation of the buildings and evidence.

4.2 DEVELOPMENT

Starting after 1950 there was an in-depth study of the evidence revealed through the natural sciences, biological data and Linear B (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 1). The years after 1950 were highly significant in terms of the development of scholarship on the Minoan religion. The characteristic feature of this period was the discovery and excavation of new sites using the new scientific methods (Warren, 1986, p. 10).

The current analysis is more detailed and more scientific. It is less difficult for the layman to understand. Scholars are more efficient than their earlier counterparts. Their reports are published more frequently,

more accurately and more systematically. They take a more objective approach to the analysis of the evidence. They are more descriptive, possess greater depth when describing their finds, pin-point their topics and make fewer mistakes (Cottrell, 1971, p. 55).

Evans' creative resourcefulness, as well as the philological influence from his Victorian scholastic upbringing, is being reconsidered. After certain amendments, Evans' work became the basis of most religious studies on Aegean pre-history. Scholars are no longer accepting his theories verbatim, but they are not, however, questioning his integrity. They claim that his assumptions were the product of his vivid imagination rather than of empirical facts. They realize that his conclusions were based on the material available to him during his era.

Despite the tremendous contribution Evans made to Aegean prehistory, his work bears the stamp of the past, especially because he followed the examples of earlier scholars (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 224). Yet Evans' work, in more than one field which has been examined recently, has basically been confirmed and accepted (Hooker, 1976, p. 70).

Contemporary scholars are more versatile in the methods they use to analyze the data. Their conclusions are based on archaeological evidence revealed by new scientific technology and methodology rather than on philology and mythology, which were the prime sources for early historians.

Academics use archaeology as a major source in the effort to unravel the latent mysteries of the Minoan religion. Archaeology is a complete science. In archaeology the interpretation of the facts is paramount; conclusions are not modified for the sake of convenience in the interpretation of the facts. The interpretations of the author may be misleading. Academics guard against the assumptions of the past and look more closely at all the available evidence. Still archaeological interpretations should be accepted with trepidation since most evidence is ambiguous, fraught with possibilities, probabilities and very few certainties. Fortunately, contemporary scholars base their conclusions not only on archaeology but also on factual evidence revealed by new disciplines.

Important finds made through archaeology are resulting in the re-appraisal of previous hypotheses regarding the Minoan religion. Through the examination of the stratigraphy, it is now possible not only to build a material picture but also to assess the extent to which religion played a part in the Minoan civilization (Walberg, 1987, IV, p. 86).

Scholars are not restricted in their investigations solely to archaeological evidence. They draw on speleology, botany, zoology, geology, anthropology and new scientific technologies, such as radar, X-ray and aerial photography. Carbon 14 is helping to determine a more precise chronology. The new disciplines contribute to the expansion of the

parameters in the study of the Minoan religion.

Surface archaeology is not restricted to the surface of sites but covers general archaeological depth exploration. Archaeological excavations reveal a great deal about a specific site; surface archaeology reveals a little about a large area. The introduction of "New Archaeology" has become an important factor. "New Archaeology" is a term that has been applied to the concept of applying the scientific method to archaeological research. In other words, the archaeologist begins with a hypothesis which is then tested and either rejected or accepted on the basis of the evidence.

Recently a great number of scholars have concentrated their research on restricted fields of investigation. They specialize in a particular subject or a particular area. This specialization helps them to describe their findings more meticulously, with greater substance and with greater accuracy.

Contemporary scholars are also expanding their research into industries, tools, the domestication of animals, farming methods, planting of crops, cultivation of the fields and the use of dietary products, such as barley, wheat and olives (Warren, 1975, pp. 24-25). They study pollen and even human excrement, which reveals the Minoan diet (Newsletter, AIA. 30, September, 1990).

A new application of pure scientific research is the study of faunal and floral remains, which is helping to

unravel the latent meaning of the surrounding landscape (Warren, 1975, p. 24).

The employment of these highly sophisticated techniques, the new equipment and the new evidence obtained through these disciplines, are enabling scholars not only to analyze the information more explicitly but also to arrive at a more meaningful interpretation. The evidence produced by the new techniques is changing the previous conclusions of scholars.

The material and the sources of the material used in architecture, jewelry, stone vases and frescoes are vital clues in the interpretation of the evidence (Warren, 1975, pp. 96-97).

4.3 PROBLEMS

The absence of an overall format in the study of the Minoan religion has been a serious obstruction to arrive at a plausible conclusion. The difficulty faced by scholars lies in the inability to agree on a standard methodology and terminology, and an appropriate means of addressing the problem.

A serious problem in interpreting the Minoan religion is that early historians tend to accept as evidence traditional narratives written centuries after the collapse of the Minoan civilization (Cadogan, 1986, p. 30)

Another major problem confronting modern scholars is to

determine what was Minoan and what was Mycenaean, and how to differentiate between the two religions. Historians are attempting to synthesize their conclusions in a religious context.

Contemporary scholars are addressing many questions, such as: How does one establish whether an object had had any religious significance? Which objects were religious and which were secular? Were the deities the same in the Minoan and the Mycenaean religions? How much did the Minoan religion engulf the religion of the mainland? To what extent did the Minoan religion contribute to the fusion of the Minoan-Mycenaean religions? What was the role of Crete in the development of the late Helladic religion and was there a Minoan Thalassocracy? (an empire or government supported or controlled by a Minoan navy). Hägg asserts that the Minoans had a navy. He suggests that through the Minoan Thalassacry the Aegean was impregnated with the Minoan religion (Hägg, 1980, p. 35).

Additional issues being investigated include; what function did the Minoan religion have? Was there a priestly class? Were the services conducted by priests or by priestesses or a mixture of both? Did the architecture of the shrines, the cult practices, rituals, sacred dress and sacrifice express Minoan religious thought? What is to be denoted a sanctuary? How should evidence found in the sanctuaries be catalogued and what part did social, artistic and economic factors play in the development of the Minoan

religion? (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 233).

Academics are trying to determine whether the rise of the mainland affected the Minoan culture. According to Cadogan, the collapse of the Minoan civilization did not occur suddenly but required a century or more. Was the collapse of the Minoan civilization hastened by the appearance of the Mycenaean civilization? Did the eruption at Thera lead to the demise of the Minoans. There was a tremendous volcanic eruption and earthquake on the Aegean island of Thera c.1650 BC. Some scholars suggest that the tidal wave which followed devastated Crete and resulted in the dark ages after c.1400 BC, (Cadogan, 1986, p. 153).

Fragmentary evidence leads to a variety of conclusions. According to Hutchison, there is not enough concrete evidence for a real understanding of the Minoan religion. (Hutchison, 1962, p. 207). Few archaeologists have made any attempt to develop a coherent approach to the subject. Most conclusions and reconstructions of the evidence cannot be shown to relate to the available data (Renfrew, 1985, p. 1). The evidence is abundant but it is difficult to recognize and very questionable. Should the evidence be treated as a whole as Nilsson did or should the evidence be divided into separate categories? (MMR, pp. 53ff): Rutkowski, 1986, p. XV).

Another obstacle confronting contemporary scholars is that evidence found through archaeology is interpreted by the ideas and beliefs of modern scholars. How is it known

that these interpretations in fact reflect the religious beliefs of the Minoans?

Only in the last twenty-five years has the framework of a partial method emerged to address this dilemma (each excavator has a specific method of interpretating the evidence, with very little common ground between them). There are few unanimous theories. As late as 1972, Rutkowski had difficulty synthesizing the terminology of the Aegean (Rutkowski, 1972, p. 16).

4.4 GOALS

A principal aim of contemporary scholars is to arrive at a synthesis of all objects which are common to all sanctuaries. The emphasis is on tracing the connection or lack of connection between the Minoan and Mycenaean religions. Rutkowski's goal is to give an account of the history of the different types of sanctuaries and link them to the history of the society they served. He tries to synthesize all the elements that are common to all sanctuaries (Rutkowski, 1986, Conclusion).

Marinatos postulates that all the contents in a room should be examined as a unit in relation to the function of the building in order to understand aspects of the Minoan religion (Marinatos, 1984, p. 7).

Rutkowski believes that to follow the development of the Minoan religion fully we must:

1: Determine how shrines, cult sites, peak sanctuaries and caves relate to the Minoan religion.

2: Discover the importance of signs, symbols and artifacts which suggest religious connotations and how they apply to the Minoan religion. Caution should be observed in determining whether the evidence reveals the religious beliefs and practices of the Minoans or the Mycenaeans. The period, c.1550-1450 BC, is when the Mycenaeans are believed to have occupied Crete. All conclusions are "guesstimates".

3: Establish a method that could be employed to trace the continuity of the Minoan religion to the Mycenaean religion to the Classical Greek religion through epic poetry and the continuity of religion as implied through mythology and poetry (Rutkowski, 1986, p. XV): Nilsson, 1933, p. 29) (Nilsson is not modern but he is, here, relevant).

A suggestion is that the religion of mainland Greece in the Late Bronze Age is only a modified version of the Minoan religion (Renfrew, 1980, p. 27).

Two specific points should be examined before these problems are addressed:

1: Were there variations of any specific cult practices in a given area?

2: What were the variations at any given time?

These questions give rise to the following additional problems: What significance did artifacts, such as snakes, horns of consecration and the double axe, have?

An interpretation of sanctuaries and the effect they had on religion is another question which scholars are addressing (Rutkowski, 1986, conclusion).

Some objects are without question religious, and it can be assumed that symbols common to ancient mankind are religious. Other religious artifacts stem from racial or historical connections. However, the racial and historical background of the Minoans is unknown (Odyssey, Book 19, for variations). The question of interpretation takes precedence, as each scholar applies his own assessment to the evidence.

4.5 LINEAR B SCRIPT

A major development since the death of Evans was the decipherment of Linear B. The science of linguistic studies increased our knowledge of the Minoan-Mycenaean era (Ventris, JHS. 1956). The interpretation of Linear B by Ventris in 1952 facilitated research on the Minoan civilization. It gave scholars a fresh starting point to

address their research, and a tremendous impetus to the study of the Minoan religion. Interest in Aegean literature became very popular (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 1). It is now possible to explain the fundamental differences between the Minoan, Mycenaean and Helladic religions (Walberg, 1987, p. 89).

Linear B came from the mainland. It was Greek. The introduction of Linear B does not necessarily mean that it was adopted by the whole Minoan population. It first had to be adopted by the wealthy and royal Minoans (MacDonald and Thomas, 1990, p. 460).

The introduction of Linear B script c.1600 BC, created a double bureaucracy. Until recently, it was believed that Linear B existed only at Knossos in Crete. Lately, Linear B tablets were found at Khania. The language of the Linear B at Knossos is of vital importance. Linear B tablets are not only historical documents, they are administrative records giving information about business transactions, the cults, the gods, the goddesses and the sanctuaries. That is, they give a certain type of information about year-end activities, such as records of collections and payments, which relate to the business transactions of royalty and the wealthy, completely ignoring the economic status of the masses. They have revolutionized our ideas on the Minoan religion (Walberg, 1987, p. 87).

Linear B is totally different from the original language, Linear A. The fact that Linear B was found at

Knossos could indicate a probable change in power (Cottrell, 1971, p. 60). According to many scholars, the use of Linear B at Knossos constitutes sufficient proof of a Mycenaean conquest at the beginning of the LM Ia. On this evidence, current scholars agree that the decipherment of Linear B tablets proves that the makers of the Linear B were Greek. If these conclusions are rejected, the validity of Ventris' decipherment of Linear B tablets must also be rejected (Willetts, 1965, p. 77).

The decipherment of the Linear B tablets expanded our knowledge of the Minoan religion. From the evidence in Linear B, it can be conjectured how important religion was in everyday Minoan life (Chadwick, 1957, p. 124).

Care must be taken, since Linear B script must have been introduced between c.1600-1450 BC. Whatever we learn of the Minoan religion from Linear B would apply only to the Late Minoan Ia Ib, the period when Knossos was occupied by the Mycenaeans (Gesell, 1985, p. 2: DMG2, 125-129, 303-312: 410-412:456-476). That is, Linear B could reflect Mycenaean religious beliefs rather than Minoan thought.

Hillar distinguishes between the different religious expressions. Both upper and lower classes had the same religious beliefs but expressed them differently (Hillar, 1980, p. 40). The difference is noted in the change in the quality of the grave goods (Hägg, 1980, pp. 36-37).

The upper classes of the Greek mainland society were thoroughly Minoanized in religion. Royalty and the wealthy

of the mainland used Linear B. It is natural for people of the upper classes to adopt the foreign customs and fashions of a superior culture. This suggests that the upper classes of the Minoan society exerted influence on the religious beliefs of the upper class of the mainland. Most of the material evidence of religious beliefs and practices that comes from Minoan palaces reveals information about the wealthy upper populace. Caution should be observed, since there is a risk that the evidence overestimates the impact on the population, as most of the evidence comes from the palatial centers. This is probably true in all fields of religion (Hägg, 1980, p. 36).

In the early years of excavation, prior to Evans' discovery of the Palace at Knossos, the whole Aegean area was called Mycenaean. It is only in the ensuing years that the Minoan and Helladic religions were identified and distinguished from each other. Hägg stresses that the Minoan and Mycenaean religions were basically different and that Nilsson's term Minoan-Mycenaean is misleading. For these reasons, he postulates that with the many reports being presented it is time to change the term Minoan-Mycenaean religion (Hägg, 1980, p. 40).

The discovery by Wace of Linear B tablets at Pylos does not necessarily mean that Linear B originated on the mainland. According to Cottrell, they may have been made by Minoan artists. The Mycenaeans may have imported Minoan scribes to keep a record of their businesses. Yet it has

been proven that Linear B is definitely Greek (Cottrell, 1971, p. 60). Also, the number of tablets from mainland sites is much greater than from Crete. If Linear B is found only at Knossos on Crete but is widespread on the mainland it would seem to be an import to Crete from the mainland.

4.6 POLYTHEISM

In Evans' era, it had not been concluded whether the Minoan religion was monotheistic with a great Mother-goddess who took various forms or whether these forms represent separate deities. The many different places and varied ritual apparatus of the cults suggest a form of polytheism (Warren, 1975, p. 74)

"The strongest argument against polytheism in Crete is the unity and uniformity of iconography, the ubiquitous presence of the great goddess with her symbols: double axes, sacred animals and flowers." (Hillar, 1980, p. 215). There is ample proof that the goddess was worshipped in different aspects: the earth, the sea and the underworld (Platon, 1980, pp. 210-211).

Evans and Nilsson arrived at different positions regarding Minoan deities. Evans believed that the Minoans practiced a form of modified monotheism with a single great mother goddess who was worshipped in association with a youthful son or consort. Nilsson advocated a polytheistic form of religion with a whole range of divinities. During

their era each had his own supporters (Warren, 1975, p. 210).

Warren believes that Evans' position on the modified monotheism version is still valid to a degree (Warren, 1980, p. 210). Contrary to Evans' beliefs, however, Warren indicates that Linear B describes a fully developed form of polytheism in Crete with a variety of deities and cults for different divinities (Warren, 1975, p. 75). This conclusion seems to contradict Warren's statement that Evans' theory is valid.

Warren clarifies this apparent contradiction. He claims that Evans referred to the Minoan period when early scholars believed that the Minoan and Mycenaean religions' beliefs were similar. Nilsson's theory is based on the time when Crete was occupied by the Greek mainlanders, who introduced their own gods and goddesses. There is not really a contradiction. Evans was talking about the Minoans and Nilsson about the Mycenaeans.

According to Warren. evidence derived from Linear B has indicated that, in one form or another, polytheism existed in Palatial Crete (Warren, 1975, p. 74). The decipherment of Linear B changed Evans' absolute conclusion that the Minoan religion was dominated by only one deity.

Warren alleges that in Linear B we find that gifts of oil for worship were brought to Eileithyia, the goddess of fertility, and to Zeus, confirming that a form of polytheism existed in Crete during the Late Bronze Era, but there is no

unequivocal interpretation. Caution must be observed as this is the period of the Mycenaean domination (Warren, 1975, pp. 131): Chadwick, 1957, pp. 124-126): Odyssey, XIX, 188).

Levi supports Warren's theory that one single female divinity dominated the Cretan religion but was worshipped under different aspects (hypothesis). "She was goddess of creation, of the underworld and protrectress of the king's house and the laws" (Levi, 1981, p. 211).

According to Vaughan, the goddess is celestial with sacred doves perched on her shoulders; infernal, where she is attended by snakes; and terrestrial, where, as a human, she is attended by animals and human beings (Vaughan, 1959, p. 164: Dietrich, 1974, p. 179).

Immerwahr also supports Evans' conclusion, suggesting that the Minoan frescoes dealt with religious subjects, which indicates a cult of a great goddess (Immerwahr, 1981. p. 143)

Nilsson and Dietrich disagree with Evans. They believe that there were three goddesses: an earth goddess, a mother goddess and a snake goddess. However, there is not enough evidence to prove or disprove this theory (Dietrich, 1974, p. 179.

Platon also disagrees with Evans. He postulates that a pantheon of deities existed in Crete. According to Platon, the Minoan pantheon of deities consisted of a Great Mother Goddess, a daughter, a son or consort and a male deity represented as a bull. The idea of a consort is a modern

application, which is a female requires a male to complete the relation between a man a woman. He contends that the Minoan religion was imported to the Mycenaean mainland from Crete in the 16th century BC. Mycenaean religion was developed under Minoan influence and the end result was the Greek pantheon described in the Linear B tablets (Platon, 1980, p. 210).

Hillar, citing evidence from Linear B, indicates that polytheism existed in the Minoan-Mycenaean religion. According to Hillar, there was a Minoan religion, a Mycenaean religion and a Minoan-Mycenaean religion, which existed simultaneously. The last is a synthesis of the first two (Hillar, 1980, p. 210).

Persson's opinion is that the Cretan Mother goddess was a universal deity. She was the goddess of nature with many attributes. Other scholars take an opposite view; they claim to be able to identify a succession of different deities (Persson, 1942, p. 144).

Gimbutas concurs with Persson. Gimbutas believes that there was a pantheon of deities: a Mistress of the Waters, a Goddess of Life, and a Goddess of death and regeneration (Gimbutas, 1975, p. 156). This seems to imply that, as Goddess of Life, she controlled the fertility of the earth (as the pregnant vegetation goddess), as Mistress of the Waters, she appeared as a bird and as the Minoan Snake goddess she represents the goddess of rejuvenation (Gesell, 1981, p. 95).

4.7 GODDESS

The generally accepted view today is that in the Neolithic period the Cretans thought of their divinity in terms of a mother goddess (Vaughan, 1959, p. 145; Persson, 1942, p. 5). They believed that the goddess had control over all aspects of the natural and created worlds and that the goddess could prevent natural disasters and safeguard crops from destruction. As Eileithyia, the goddess of fertility, she had the power to aid in childbirth.

The practice of worshipping the goddess flourished in Crete from the EM II to the end of LM III. It survived the Mycenaean invasion. Eileithyia was still worshipped in the Roman era and only partially disappeared with the end of the Bronze Age. It was one of the features which characterized the Bronze Age civilization of Crete as Minoan. When it disappeared, the Minoan society and its religion ceased to exist (Gesell, 1981, p. 98).

The shrine at Myrtos, Fournou Koriphe, dating from Early Minoan II, c 2200 BC, was recently discovered. It is important for its contents. Offerings of liquids and food were found in a jar held by a goddess, suggesting that a type of ritual was carried on in the prepalatial period. It remains the earliest example of an independent shrine, indicating that the household or domestic cult of or for a goddess existed before the palaces were founded (Warren,

1986, p. 4).

When this goddess is compared with a contemporary goddess from a tomb at Kousmassa, this figure having the additional attribute of a snake, it becomes apparent that the major religious elements persist throughout the Minoan period and according to Nilsson were present as early as the pre-palatial and proto-urban villages of Crete (Warren 1986, p. 4).

According to Gesell, the Minoan goddess was worshipped in public areas and town sanctuaries in EM II. The service was performed in public, town sanctuaries, open-air cult sites, peak sanctuaries, caves and cemeteries. It was open to men and women, whatever their status, since votary figures of both sexes have been found as depicted in the "Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco". Gesell concludes that the worship of the Minoan goddess was more a social function than a private ceremony (Gesell, 1981, p. 98).

Evans claimed that a female figure depicted descending from heaven was a goddess. Although writers on Minoan religion from Evans onward have always assumed the figure to be a goddess, there does not exist positive proof to support this conclusion; and our ignorance of many of the the conventions of Minoan iconography makes it unlikely to arrive at a positive conclusion (Hooker, 1977, p. 197). For this reason, Hooker questions Evans' theory that she is a goddess (Hooker, 1977, p. 147).

According to Gesell, Nilsson defined the cult of the

snake goddess at Knossos and of later goddesses with up-raised hands, as a domestic goddess worshipped in houses and palaces. At the same time, he rejected the possibility that these figures represented a chthonic or fertility cult (MMR, 77-166). Nilsson supports Evans' theory (P/M, IV, pp. 138-160).

The Knossos snake goddess found in the Temple Repositories, dates to MM III, and is the most evident deity. This is one example of the Snake goddess or a votary, not to be confused with the Mother goddess herself. She seems to be the most important of the Minoan deities (BSA, 1903, p. 35). The Snake goddess belongs to the household variety. She appears only in statues, never on a ring or in a frescoe (P/M III, p. 441): MMR 313, fig 150)

Renfrew suggests that the Goddess in Crete may cover separate Greek deities, Artemis, Rhea, Athena and Aphrodite. He claims that many of the features of the Minoan and Mycenaean religions were common to both areas: celestial with the dove, chthonic with the snake, etc., and that sometimes those features assumed to be Minoan could actually have had their origin on the mainland (Renfrew, 1980, p. 32).

4.8 SANCTUARIES

The place of worship constitutes an important source of information to help trace the development of the Minoan religion. The actual site tells the most about the type of religion practiced there. It is in the cult sites that the deities were supposed to reveal themselves to human beings (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 223).

Caves and rock shelters were used as cult sites. The reason may be that originally they were used for human habitation. Marinatos assumed that the cult of Minoan divinities in caves was a chief characteristic of the popular religion (Marinatos, S. 1941, pp. 129: MMR, p. 56, Note, 11).

The clergy or religious supervisors who looked after the religious rituals eventually took charge of the administration of the Minoan social, economic and religious society. This was the practice in the Egyptian religion. Consequently the importance of cult sites cannot be stressed enough (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 223).

The research of cult sites is presently being carried on by Betancourt, Rutkowski, Gesell, Warren, Marinatos, Shaw, Hägg, Walberg and Nordquist.

Each nationality appears to specialize in researching one particular area of Crete. Levi, an Italian, worked at Phaistos and at Haghia Triadha; the French school has

concentrated its research at Mallia since 1967; Hood, the well-known British archaeologist, continues excavating at Knossos; and Sakellarkis, a Greek archaeologist, is excavating a town near Archanes. The diversity of theories proposed by these scholars makes it impossible to establish a clear-cut, unanimous conclusion.

There was very little knowledge of or interest in cult sites in the Aegean world at the beginning of the 20th century (Rutkowski, 1986, conclusion). Peak sanctuaries, rock shelters and caves which were ignored as religious sites by early excavators are now being meticulously researched.

Previously the main types of cult sites were considered to be caves, peak mountain sanctuaries and urban shrines, whether in a house, in a public building or a palace with all the trappings. Earlier, scholars tended very little "to concentrate on describing and analyzing cult places and their contents and their survival, and on detailing the lists of the divinities and offerings in the Linear B tablets" (Warren, 1986, p. 12).

According to G. Kato, no domestic shrines were known in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Kato, G, 1904, p. 117ff). It is not quite correct, however, to say that domestic shrines are not known at the present. Warren, who has refuted this theory, postulates that a room at Myrtos was a shrine (Warren, 1972).

There are no unanimous concrete rules for the

description of a sanctuary. In the study of the Minoan religion it is important to define what a sanctuary is and what its characteristics are. The terminology used to describe sanctuaries is not always the same. A general understanding is that the term has reference to a site, the actions and religious rituals practiced there (Renfrew, 1985, p. 2).

A sanctuary is a place that appears to have been used for worship and is normally identified by the equipment or artifacts suggesting cultic or ritual activity. Some naologists (naology is the study of sanctuaries) believe that a prehistoric sanctuary is best understood in isolation or in terms of its unique features.

According to Rutkowski, a peak sanctuary is a cult site situated on top of a mountain and is usually surrounded by a wall or temenos. There was always an altar in a mountain sanctuary (Rutkowski, 1986, conclusion). Yet, given the location of some Minoan sanctuaries, such as the Kamaras cave, which is only accessible for a short time during the year, it is unlikely that they were visited more than once a year (van Leuven, 1980, p. 13).

Van Leuven postulates that a peak sanctuary is identified by its elevation over the surrounding landscape. According to van Leuven, "a sanctuary is a a cult site situated on top of a mountain that appears to have been used for religious worship and is normally identified by the equipment or artifacts suggesting cultic or ritual

activity." (van Leuven, 1980, p. 11). He suggests that examination of all the types of artifacts depicted in art, architecture and relevant material should be considered before drawing a synthesis of religious sites.

Currently scholars are trying to determine what religious rites were practiced in the sanctuaries. The evidence does not reveal the religious beliefs of the Minoans nor which deity or deities were worshipped in them. Only occasionally does the evidence suggest a particular deity.

The interpretation of a building complex devoted to religious observance is a highly complicated undertaking. It is only an analysis. We have no knowledge of priestly dwellings or other religious possessions: what ceremonial functions were performed in these buildings? Who performed them? Are there any common signs or symbols? Can it be deduced whether a similar type of religion was practiced in caves and sanctuaries? (van Leuven, 1980, p. 15)

According to van Leuven. very little information is known about any clerical organization in cult places; even the material records in Linear B disclosures never clarify the place or a clerical organization (van Leuven, 1980, p. 20).

The only reliable criterion to decide whether a room or part of a building is sacred is through the presence of what are deemed to be sacred objects. Yet even this is not positive proof. How can it be determined which objects are

sacred? Many objects considered sacred may only be mundane (Gransiniec, 1968, p. 85).

A distinction is being made as to whether the sanctuaries were private or public, rural or urban. The conclusions depend on the ability of the archaeologist to understand and interpret their daily use. A further distinction is being made between man-made and natural sanctuaries, with architecture an important source (Rutkowski, 1986, p. xix). A natural sanctuary is a cave or a peak sanctuary. The conclusions drawn from their differences resulted in a variety of opinions (van Leuven, 1980, p. 12).

Man-built sanctuaries controlled the space, time, people, and ritual activity involved. Natural sanctuaries allowed more flexibility (van Leuven, 1980, p. 12).

It is difficult to determine whether a building is sacred or not. The Aegean world produced no structures whose function could, from the ground plan, be considered sacred (Rutkowski, 1986, p. XIX). Neither the ground plan nor even the discovery in it of sacred objects is proof that the building was sacred (Rutkowski, 1986, XIV).

Van Leuven disagrees. He contends that natural sanctuaries teach us less about religion than do man-built sanctuaries (van Leuven, 1980, p. 12).

An interpretation of sanctuaries is begun by classifying them. The emphasis on distinguishing the differences between urban and rural, public and private is

clouded by the ability to determine the use of sanctuaries in relation to mundane life. The conclusions drawn from these differences resulted in a variety of theories (van Leuven, 1980, p. 12)

Scholars are dividing shrines, sanctuaries and caves into various categories. In order to identify a sanctuary, they are analyzing the significance of sanctuaries and cult sites through art, architecture and burial tombs (Gesell, 1985, p. 155-166). Additional evidence is derived from the votive offerings found in caves, peak sanctuaries, rock shelters and burial sites. However, the burial tholoi contain many pre-palatial and proto-palatial objects mixed together, which makes dating uncertain. Details become sketchy (Evans, J.D. 1973, p. 70).

At first observation, domestic shrines, pillar crypts, lustral basins, caves, rock shelters and peak sanctuaries seem to be totally different, yet some similarities existed. The difference between a peak sanctuary and a rock shelter is that a peak sanctuary is a cult site situated on top of a mountain. A rock sanctuary is a terrace on a sloping ground about ten meters from the crest, which forms the actual summit of the mountain (Nilsson, 1950, p. 76).

Gesell postulates that cult rites were celebrated in caves, mountain peaks, palaces, open-air sanctuaries and tombs. The offerings vary from site to site, suggesting that each area may have worshipped a special deity or deities Gesell, 1985, p. 3-5).

The evidence is uncertain. Diverse societies are bound to have different ideas and employ different types of paraphernalia. It must first be determined which artifacts are sacred and which are secular before arriving at a conclusion (van Leuven, 1980, p. 12).

In the 19th century, caves were explored in order to try to connect them with ancient texts. Interest in the myth that Zeus was born in Crete led to archaeological explorations in caves. In the 20th century there is a shift in thinking and in focus. Caves are examined by contemporary archaeologists because they believe caves to be one of the principal areas, where the Minoans conducted religious practices (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 226).

Scholars are concentrating their efforts on interpreting the evidence found in caves and mountain peaks, yet current knowledge continues to draw information obtained from 19th century excavations. The views of philologists and travellers of the nineteenth century still remain the basis of many of the conclusions developed in the early twentieth century (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 5).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, it was thought that sanctuaries were situated only in rural areas. This theory has been contradicted by Gesell, Warren and Hood. Sanctuary complexes with altars were found in the centers of towns and in the ceremonial areas of the palaces. There were rarely independent buildings solely devoted to religious practices. Originally, these buildings were never

built separately but were usually attached to other structures, sharing wall-space with them (Gesell, 1981, p. 93)

Sanctuaries or cult sites incorporate three aspects of religion: places, rituals and beliefs.

1: Places involve furnishings, such as cult idols, altars and paraphernalia associated with votive offerings.

1A: Sanctuaries could be outdoors.

1B: Sanctuaries could be inside settlements; in man-built areas, such as palaces, social enclosures and domestic buildings, which usually contain altars, pillar crypts and lustral basins.

2: Ritual: An action which takes place in sacred areas. Activities are processions, athletic games, dances and ritual sacrifices.

3: Beliefs: The sanctuary is a home for the divinities (Rutkowski, 1986, p. X1X).

According to Warren, "Up to 1950 the main types of cult sites were sacred caves, mountain peak sanctuaries, urban shrines, whether in a house, public building or palace, with all their contents, in the shrine or in store" (Warren, 1986, p. 10).

Starting in 1950 there was an intensified study of the finds, data obtained using the natural sciences and new scientific disciplines. Evidence obtained through such

methodology, natural biological sciences and Linear B inscriptions led to a re-appraisal, and facilitated the interpretation of Minoan religion (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 1). This is a period of many excavations and a tremendous amount of research employing these new disciplines.

Another modern trend is to interpret the Minoan religion through the deposits of figurines, amulets, gems, gem-stones and votive vessels found in most Minoan shrines, sanctuaries and cult sites.

Contemporary scholars stress the importance of the different types of sanctuaries (Gesell, 1985, p. 1). According to Gesell, there are three basic types of cult sanctuaries: bench sanctuaries, lustral basins and pillar crypts.

1: The bench sanctuary held the cult objects. However, the built-in bench could be used for the convenience of sitting. It does not necessarily follow that all rooms with benches were sanctuaries.

2: The lustral basin is identified by its sunken floor, columned parapet and angled stair. It was probably used for a purification ritual.

3: The Pillar Crypt at Knossos is a rectangular room with one central pillar. There is evidence that it supported a columnar pillar on the floor above, which was connected to the crypt by an adjacent stair (Gesell, 1985, p. 2).

There are other lesser sanctuaries, such as the Tripartite Shrine, the Open-air Shrine and the Sacred Spring or Well. Gesell's conclusions are based on architecture, artifacts and burial sites (Gesell, 1985, p. 2).

Shaw, on the other hand, believes that the facades were not part of the entrance of the building, but, rather, that they were the backdrops for unknown ceremonies that were carried out in front of them, usually in the courts (Shaw, 1978, pp. 429-448).

Sanctuaries were found not only on mountain peaks but also in the main points of the settlements. This shows that sanctuaries were not simply cultural centers but that religion as practiced in the Minoan era was more a cause than an effect of this civilization. This conclusion suggests that the palaces helped to formulate the Minoan society's religious beliefs rather than being established after Minoan religion had been formulated.

The development of mountain shrines evolved at the end of the Prepalatial period and continued to the end of the New Palace period (Cadogan, 1986, p. 161). Some shrines must have had a regional importance. They imply that in each village, a group of priests or priestesses may have been in charge of each shrine with worshippers coming from several surrounding settlements (Cadogan, 1986, p. 161; Rutkowski, 1972, pp. 175-179).

The protopalatial period is characterized by the introduction of pillar crypts and lustral basins at Knossos,

Phaistos and Mallia. Peak sanctuaries were most active during the MM I-MM II (Branigan 1970, p. 108). Rutkowski postulates that almost all peak sanctuaries come within the altitude associated with summer transhumance of sheep and goats (Rutkowski, 1972, pp. 321-3).

Sanctuaries on mountain tops were introduced at Petsophas and Mt. Jutkas in MM I. These contain artifacts which seem to date from the LM I era, but parts certainly date back to MM I (Pendlebury, 1963, p. 104). Caution should be observed: much of the evidence of cult practices in peak sanctuaries comes from the postpalace period in Crete. This period, LMI-III, is the era of the Mycenaean occupation and probably reflects the Mycenaean religious beliefs (Gesell, 1985, p. 41).

Mt. Juktas was the largest and most important sanctuary in Crete. It remained in use throughout the Bronze Age with an altar, figurines and libation tables (or kernoi). Adjacent to the sanctuary a cache of double axes was found. This connects the religious paraphernalia of the Minoan palatial, urban and domestic religion with mountain sanctuaries (Warren, 1986, p. 6).

Rutkowski questions the old formulas for interpreting the details regarding size, shape, location and construction in determining whether a building is a sanctuary. A building is not necessarily a sanctuary, since a sanctuary needs an altar and some sort of boundary. He also distinguishes between sacred sites inside a settlement and those outside

(Rutkowski. 1986, p. 225).

According to Rutkowski, in the study of the Minoan religion three characteristics of a cult site should be considered:

1: topography.

2: cult practices.

3: religious beliefs (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 225).

Gesell postulates that there are three distinct types of sacred places:

1: Stone-built sanctuaries, with one or more rooms, which stood on mountain summits all over the island. At these shrines, ash levels indicate that there were great fires, into which were thrown little clay figurines of human beings and animals. Burnt animal bones suggest that sacrifices were also offered (Warren, 1975, p. 98).

2: Certain caves were sacred places. The Dictaian cave above Lasithi, and those at Eileithyia, Amnisos and Skoteino are considered sacred. Bronze figurines, miniature double axes and every-day swords were found on wooden tables in these (Warren, 1975, p. 98).

3: Certain rooms within the palaces were shrines. These rooms were decorated with seals and gold rings, clearly marking them as shrines (Gesell, 1985, p. 2).

Gesell contends that the many cult rooms and cult objects reveal a highly organized religious society (Gesell, 1985, p. 1). The cult sites contain many cult objects. Due to the lack of written evidence, pictorial representations are a key to the identification of cult objects and their use (Gesell, 1985, p. 2). In order to identify a cult room both the artifacts and the architecture are necessary for interpretation (Gesell, 1985, pp. 155-166; Marinatos, 1984, p. 7).

Kilian postulates that a cult area contains;

1: Altars, slaughtering tables and benches.

2: Objects such as clay and ivory figurines and anthromomorphic vessels.

3: Frescoes with representations of deities.

4: Certain types of jewelry necklaces(Kilian, 1980, pp. 209).

The proliferation of natural sanctuaries and their finds, at least in Crete, has led many naologists to treat them as principal cult sites. Van Leuven disagrees with this theory. He claims that the mishandling of this information underlines the immaturity of archaeology, which hinders

modern scholarship. The inability to formulate a general overall agreement on the definition of a sanctuary remains a major problem.

Van Leuven suggests that to make a positive approach to distinguishing a sanctuary is to determine a standard ground plan of a sanctuary. Sanctuaries were never identical. This created confusion as each naologist had a different interpretation of the evidence (van Leuven, 1980, p. 12).

It was generally believed in the early phase in the study of the Minoan religion that the Aegean world did not produce any sacred buildings. No religious structure could be recognized from a ground plan (Rutkowski, 1986, p. X1X). Neither the ground plan nor even the discovery in it of objects that are deemed to be religious is proof that the structure is sacred. It is difficult to determine if a building was sacred or not from the objects or lack of objects found. Rooms without religious artifacts could still be sanctuaries or crypts. This holds true for underground rooms with pillars or crypts (Rutkowski, 1986, p. X1V).

As we have seen, Nilsson stated that in the Minoan civilization no temples were found during his era, if by a temple we mean a separate building set apart as the abode of a deity or a shelter for it (MMR. 2. p. 77). Until recently it was generally agreed that in the Minoan-Mycenaean world there were no temples.

This belief has been contested. Finds in recent years are changing this concept (Burkert, 1985, p. 31). Cretan

examples of independent shrines have been identified at Mallia; at Gournia; Fournou Koriphe; and at Anemospelia (Warren, 1986, pp. 10-11: J.C.Poursat, BCH, (1966), pp. 514-551).

Hood has reversed this theory. He discussed and described nine examples of temples dating to Early Minoan and Late Minoan periods (Hood, 1977, pp. 158-172). According to Hood a shrine is, " a building or a roofed structure set apart for cult and having its own entrance from the outside world, not incorporated in a dwelling house or palace and not approached through it" (Hood, 1977, p. 158)

These new discoveries and additional information enrich our knowledge of the different types of cult places in the Minoan civilization.

4.9 CULT OBJECTS

Gesell has revised her 1972 opinion of the importance of the house cult. She suggests that there have been many excavations in which new evidence associated with the house cult is connected with town and palace sanctuaries of a public nature rather than with a private-house cult. She now believes that the cult is not a house cult but a cult ritual practiced in separate sanctuary complexes or in a special ceremonial area of the palaces; therefore the concept of the Minoan goddess as a household deity and the cult as a domestic cult should be reconsidered (Gesell, 1981, p. 93)

Gesell suggests that much of the evidence previously attributed to the house cult is connected with town and palace sanctuaries of a public or semi-public nature as opposed to a private house cult (Gesell, 1985, p. XIX: See p. 1). She asserts that cult rites were celebrated in caves, mountain peaks, open-air shrines, town sanctuaries, houses, palaces and tombs. The offerings varied from site to site, suggesting that each area may have had special deities. In cult caves terracotta and bronze offerings with evidence of animal sacrifice were found. Peak sanctuaries contain many votive offerings. Complete animals and individual parts were found in the burnt debris, suggesting a bonfire sacrifice (Gesell, 1985, p. 1).

Warren is of the same opinion as Gesell. He believes that certain caves were clearly sacred places. Within these caves stone offering tables were found with figurines, miniature double axes, swords, which were decorated or plain (Warren, 1975, p. 93).

Gesell postulates that no figurines representing the goddess have been found dating from MM I-II. She suggests that two painted scenes, one painted on a bowl and the other on a fruit-stand from the palace at Phaistos, depict rites associated with the goddess (Levi, 1976, pp. 74-78, 83-91, 93-96).

According to Renfrew, cult images discovered in the palaces and settlements in Crete fall into three categories:

1: Renfrew cites, Warren, who, in his article

compared representations of the domestic or household goddess which have been found at Mycenae with similar figurines of the Early Minoan style (Warren, 1979, pp. 137-147).

2: Images were found in the palaces belonging to the First and Second palace period. Dating of the images is confirmed by comparison with the finds from the Temple Repositories at Knossos, included in these are the faience snake goddess or a snake votary, which date to Middle Minoan III period and the material from the "Shrine of the Dove Goddess" (Renfrew, 1980, p. 29). It has been determined that the Temple Repositories were sealed by an earthquake c.MM III.

3: The third group is a continuation of the first, with images of the Goddess with Upraised arms (Renfrew, 1980, p. 29: Alexiou. 1958, p. 179, n. 11).

Cult images depicting representations of the deity, and ritual and votive offerings were found in palaces, settlements, caves and peak sanctuaries. The iconography of the cult scenes on Minoan gold rings may be associated with the depiction of the annual death and rebirth of the youthful Zeus, where the ritual dancing of the gods of fertility is described (MMR, Chapter 22).

4.10 PALACES

The Minoan palaces at the end of the old palace period appear to have been the centers of religious, political and economic power (Cadogan, 1986, p. 169).

Säflund contends that the turning point in the history of the palaces occurred in the MM period. The cultural and economic expansion of the EM and MM periods resulted in new types of centers, where religious ceremonies were probably practiced (Säflund, 1980, pp. 209-210).

Cadogan asserts that the creation and expansion of the palaces of Crete were symptoms of the great social, religious, political and economic changes of the Minoan civilization during EM II-MM I, c.2200-1850 BC. He explains that the amazing growth of the palaces was due to an abundance of food, improved technology, a better supply of raw material and the power of religion (Cadogan, 1986, p. 170). The palaces were the basis of Minoan religious and secular power for over a half a millennium (Cadogan, 1986, p. 153).

Cadogan contends that there is no connection between

the shrines and the appearance of the palaces. It may be a sign of the power of religion, which in conjuction with the political powers, formed a coalition to control the Minoan society (Cadogan, 1980, pp. 169-171).

According to Evans, and many currently active writers, it has been concluded that the Cretans, under King Minos, controlled the Aegean waters (The Minoan Thalassocracy). There is no doubt that what appears to be immunity from attack had a general effect on the architectural form of Cretan palatial construction. This is reflected in the lack of fortifications of the cities, the unwalled palaces and the large openings of the external doorways in the private homes and palaces. On this basis scholars have concluded that the Cretans were powerful enough that no fortifications were required to protect their palaces.

Some palaces were built on sites dating back to c.6000 BC. The evidence from the mixture of religion, bureaucracy and the arts is very marked in the new palace period. It is difficult to distinguish between the sacred and the secular (Cadogan, 1986, p. 169).

According to Cadogan, the sites for the construction of the palaces were already regional centers, as no palaces have been found at new sites (Cadogan, 1986, p. 164). The settlement at Knossos is known to date back to the Neolithic era. At Mallia there are indications that there is an old palace under the New Palace. Although a large part of Phaestos was washed away, it is still the best preserved

Palace. Phaestos is important because of its association with the Mesara, the only large flat plain in Crete. It is south of Knossos, where many Minoan tholoi were discovered and excavated, revealing the religious burial habits of early Cretans, (Cadogan, 1986, p. 165).

Another avenue academics are investigating is the importance and function of the palaces. Can we determine what was the religious doctrine of the Minoans through the study of their palaces? How did the palaces originate? Why did they prosper? Why were they settled where they are? How did the central courts evolve? What were they used for? Who was in charge? The evidence does not reveal the religious beliefs of the Minoans. It gives some indications, but in general, not specific terms (Cadogan, 1986, p. 164).

The numerous finds suggest that each palace may have had its own shrine for its own worship (Nilsson, 1924, p. 13). Articles found were tables of libation, horns of consecration, bell-shaped idols and a round-shaped table with three short legs. Yet the finds give no information as to the nature of the cult.

Evans suggested the Throne Room in the Palace at Knossos as a possible site where divine epiphany was held. (P/M, I, p. 4). Reusch agreed with Evans that epiphany to a deity was enacted in the Throne Room at Knossos (Reusch, 1950, pp. 334-388).

Currently, scholars refute this theory. Rutkowski partially agrees with Evans, that the Throne Room was a

sanctuary or a cult chamber, he concedes that the Throne Room complex seems to have had a religious function (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 127).

The Throne Room at Knossos was named by Evans. It is not known that it was intended to be a throne room. As far as is known, no religious functions were practiced in throne rooms on the mainland (Hooker, 1977, p. 139).

Hooker does not agree with Evans' conclusion that religious epiphany was conducted in the Throne Room at Knossos any more than he accepts Evans' claim that the "priest-king relief" represented a priest or a king.

Hooker quotes Wace: "The three palaces so far excavated on the mainland at Tiryns, Mycenae and Pylos have throne rooms." (Wace, 1973, xxvii). Knossos has a throne room which belongs to the earliest part of the palace. This part seems to have been incorporated with a later plan; the other Cretan palaces have not revealed throne rooms. Yet the Palace at Knossos does not resemble the palaces of the mainland in size, shape or function. According to Hooker, this is one of the most decisive proofs that the Palace at Knossos was at this time (LM II) under Mycenaean rule (Hooker, 1977, p. 77).

The Palace of Zakros was discovered in 1963. The discovery revealed cult sites, shrines and lustral basins. This new evidence from Zakros confirms Evans' opinion that the major function of the palaces was religious and that they played an important part in Minoan religious life

(Warren, 1972).

According to Cadogan, the west end of the palaces had a long line of shrines which seemed to have been devoted to religious practices (Cadogan, 1986. p. 169). However, Rutkowski claims there is no real evidence that the west wing at Mallia had cult rooms (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 229)

Due to Evans' graphic description, archaeologists were inclined to regard many rooms in the Palace at Knossos as sanctuaries.

Hooker contends that Evans was too ready to fit the development of other sites into a sequence which he had worked out for Knossos (Hooker, 1977, p. 139).

4.11 MATRIARCHAL SOCIETY

Hooker and Cottrell concur with Evans that a feminine atmosphere suggests a matriarchal society prevailed at Knossos, After this interpretation, Hooker asks, "How do we know that a man sat on the throne in the Throne Room at Knossos? It may have been a woman" (Hooker, 1977, p. 139).

4.12 BAETYL

The importance of the tree in cult practices has been stressed by Evans (TPC, p. 99). Marinatos agrees with this hypothesis (Marinatos, 1986, p. 49). Platon, on the other hand, attaches little importance to the religious functions

of the pillar.

Evans' view that the pillar was the aniconic image of a god is rejected by most writers who have investigated this theory. They base their conclusions on the grounds that the constructional function of the pillars is incompatible with their being an aniconic representation of a deity (MMR, pp. 245, 254: (Evans, 1914, p. 69).

4.13 ZEUS

The cult of Zeus Kretogenes, a Cretan-born myth also known as Dictaian Zeus, flourished in Hellenic times (Hesiod and Theognis, p. 17).

Modern scholars are clarifying the context of the Minoan religion on the basis of the similarity between Zeus, the child-god of the Minoan religion, and the Jesus Christ legend of Christianity. They are comparing the Minoan goddess with her young male consort to the story of Mary and Jesus Christ, the child-god. Our main source of information regarding the Minoan civilization is external. There are no written records or literature. The remaining archaeological evidence takes on a greater importance.

The location of the burial site of Zeus has been identified with certainty by recent scholars (Rutkowski, 1972, p. 156-159, 321). Hogarth has proved conclusively that the "old tradition and oracular shrine of the birth-place of

the Cretan Zeus attached themselves to this site" (Mt.Dikta) (Hogarth, BSA, 1900: Evans, 1901, p. 2).

Evans combined religion and mythology to locate the burial site of Zeus. According to Evans, the tomb of Zeus was located on Mt. Juktas, south of Knossos (P/M, I, p. 153).

4.14 Opinions of Contemporary Scholars

It is generally acknowledged by Minoan scholars that Evans and Nilsson were two of the most outstanding authors on the Minoan Religion during their eras. Yet there were many other renown academics who augmented, refined and even refuted the theories of both.

Blegen and Wace argued that the culture of the mainland continued to be basically Helladic. This is directly contrary to Evans' suggestion that the mainland adopted the Minoan culture and religion (Hooker, 1977, p. 72).

Wace and Blegen, although they concentrated their research primarily on the mainland, have modified and extended Evans' dating system to embrace the whole Aegean era (Hooker, 1977, p. 4: Wace, 1973).

Wace, Blegen and Platon questioned Evans' method on

into Early, Middle and Late Helladic periods. These periods are equivalent to the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms of Pharaonic Egypt (Wace, 1964, p. 10).

Blegen questioned Evans' chronological dating of the Linear B Tablets in "A Chronological Problem" (Palmer, 1965). After an extensive examination of Evans' work, Miss D.H.F. Gray (Gray was the Lecturer in Homeric Archaeology at Oxford), dismissed Blegen's arguments, claiming his summation was wrong. Evans' theory is generally accepted now (Palmer, 1965, p. 237).

Platon disagreed with Evans' chronological system. He indicates that Evans used pottery as a basis for his chronology. According to Platon, this system had two disadvantages:

1: It did not take into account the natural catastrophes that formed the basic divisions.

2: The system was based on insufficient stratigraphical data drawn from different parts of Crete (Platon, 1966, p. 98).

After examining the varied proposals, Platon proposed a chronology based on the history of the palaces. He divided the Minoan era into Pre-palace, Old-palace, New-palace and Post-palace periods. He divided each of these into three phases separated by the natural catastrophes (Platon, 1966, p. 99). However, Evans' theory is now considered more accurate than the one proposed by Platon(see chronology iv).

Banti, disagreeing with Nilsson's view, held that if

p. 99)(see chronology iv).

Banti, disagreeing with Nilsson's view, held that if the Minoan and Mycenaean religions had been depicted in some art form this would have revealed the different characteristics of the two cultures, because the former were a peaceful people while the mainlanders were warlike (Banti, 58, 1954, pp. 307ff).

CHAPTER 5

SACRIFICIAL AND RITUAL

5.1 DESCRIPTION

Scholars are currently focusing their attention on sacrifice and ritual practice in order to determine what effect, if any, these customs had on the Minoan religion. They believe that the interpretation of sacrifice and ritual is an essential factor in understanding the Minoan religion. Essentially the basic concepts governing Minoan sacrifice and ritual are similar to each other, but the details have vastly changed (Arens, 1986, p. 227). These practices have passed from the Minoans to the Mycenaeans to the Greeks to the Romans and, eventually, to the Christians (Willetts, 1976, p. 115).

Investigations into ritual practices are currently being carried on by Sakellarkis, Rutkowski, Hägg, Marinatos, Walberg, Thomas, Betancourt, Niemeier and Warren.

Sacrifice is a ceremony by which an object, an animal or a human being, is offered to a deity or supernatural power. To achieve the desired result the sacrificial victim is usually destroyed (Arens, 1986, p. 224). It is a mental process of "establishing a means of communication between the sacred and the profane" (Hubert and Mauss, 1964, p. 77).

It may be religious or secular (non-religious), such as events to celebrate a victory in battle. Sacrifice could be performed daily, annually or on special occasions (Arens, 1986, p. 224).

According to Burkert, sacrifice is an absolute act performed for the benefit of the individual or the whole community (Burkert, 1986, p. 273). It is usually performed with an exact and complicated series of ritual acts expressing the meaning, the theory and the essence of the sacrifice (Money-Kyrle, 1930, p. 97). In most sacrificial rites there is usually the supposed presence of a god, a spirit or a supernatural being (Money-Kyrle, 1930, p. 166).

Sacrificial-ritual action in the limited sphere of religion discussed in this paper comprises "things said, things done, the contents of things sung, things displayed or things envisioned in epiphany" (Renfrew, 1985, p. 12).

According to Leach, "any ritual activity has visual, verbal, spatial and temporal dimensions; in addition, noise, smell, taste and touch may all be relevant" (Leach, 1976, p. 81).

Renfrew sets a range of conditions for the immediate purpose of sacrifice:

To invoke the presence of the divinity

To gain communion with the deity

The action will take place in a specific place and could be a plea for material aid, a supplication for a favorable harvest and vegetation during Festkalender

(festivals), a prayer to prevent disaster to their crops, a petition for victory in battle, an act of thanks or a tribute to a deity (Marinatos, N. 1986, p. 41: Renfrew, 1985, p. 12).

Furumark goes further. He believes that ritual actions have a single purpose: to bring about the presence of the god and to make the deity reveal itself (Furumark, 1961, p. 91). Marinatos and Renfrew support this theory.

Most scholars have accepted the theory that the Minoans practiced some sort of sacrifice during the Early Bronze Age (Marinatos, 1986, p. 9). They have accepted the theory that sacrifice in Crete was the same as in later Greece, yet there are differences (Marinatos, 1986, Introduction).

Many early Minoan scholars paid little attention to the subject of sacrifice. Nilsson does not deny that sacrifice was practiced in Crete. However, he glosses over this issue in his treatise on the Minoan-Mycenaean religion, discussing sacrifice only in connection with the double axe (MMR, pp. 230-235).

The most thorough treatment on sacrifice in Crete was by Sakellarakis. He collected, sorted and interpreted the evidence of animal sacrifice pertinent to bull sacrifice in Crete and on the mainland. His is the first work to concentrate on sacrificial-ritual (Sakellarakis, 1970).

Burkert introduced a new approach for analyzing sacrifice and ritual. He implied that sacrificial practices involving rituals and symbols are present in most religions

and "no ancient ceremony was complete without a sacrifice" (Burkert, 1983).

According to Burkert, sacrifice is related to the biological heritage of man (man by nature is a hunter, from earliest times he had to hunt for food). It plays an important role in the establishment of a cult. Based on this premise, Burkert surmises that sacrifice would probably have been an important part of the Minoan religion (Burkert, (1972), introduction). Marinatos agrees with this hypothesis (Marinatos, 1986, p. 41).

In the Early Bronze Age the sacrifice may have been apotropaic (to turn away a plague or disease from humans and animals) (Warren, 1975, p. 56).

Sacrifice, seemingly practiced everywhere in Crete, is depicted in both iconographic and archaeological evidence. It was an important ritual in Minoan Crete, yet sacrifice does not seem to have been closely connected with a Minoan temple or cult image, as was the case in the Orient and Greece, nor was it always performed within the physical boundaries of the sanctuary (Sakellarakis, 1970, pp. 175ff).

There is a controversy as to whether sacrifices were held indoors as well as outdoors.

Outdoor ceremonies took place in an open-air wooden enclosure where there was an altar. The sacrifice was usually held near a tree. The tree was the focal point of the ritual, the marker of the sacred site, suggesting an outdoor shrine (Marinatos, 1986, p. 15).

Warren claims that sacrificial rituals could be performed indoors as well as outdoors. At Anemospelia there is a sacrificial table in the shrine (Warren, 1986, p. 33). Furumark concurs that some sacrifices were conducted indoors. He claims that an indoor site was found at Knossos. It was an aedicula (ritual structure), which was a small building composed of columns, horns of consecration and a concave basin for libations (Furumark, 1960, p. 91).

Two cases of indoor sacrifices are suggested in a protopalatial building at Anemosphelia, where there appears to be an altar for sacrifice (Warren, 1986, p. 33).

Another example of indoor sacrifice is from the "Domestic Quarter" of the palace of Mallia (Sakellarakis, J and E, 1979, p. 386). Makkay believes that indoor sacrifice may have taken place in the West court at Phaistos. A granary was found near the west court and, according to Makkay, the first grain of the year was probably ground in a ritual ceremony at this site (Makkay, 1978, p. 13).

Marinatos disagrees with the foregoing theory of indoor sacrifices. She claims that no funeral sacrifices were conducted inside a building, a lustral basin or other internal shrine. According to Marinatos, funeral sacrifices were not conducted indoors because caves were too small and probably could accommodate only immediate members of the family of the deceased (Marinatos, 1986, p. 48).

Marinatos claims that in none of the representations of

sacrifice is there any positive evidence of indoor sacrifices. According to her, outdoor sacrifice is more practical because a greater number of people can view the ritual. Outdoor sacrifices are attested on gem stones and on some of the panels of the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha, where a bull is depicted lying on a table (or an altar). Trees, boats, clouds and chariots are shown in the background, suggesting outdoor services (Marinatos, 1986, p. 49, figs. 4 and 15 : Sakellarkis, 1985, pp. 112-114): Warren, 1986, p. 34).

Marinatos supports her conclusion with the fact that "no clear type of architectural structure has been excavated which could qualify as a temple. Cult structures did exist but they cannot be called temples because they do not conform to a canonical plan, nor were they built to house a cult image. Marinatos postulates that an altar can exist without a temple but no temple would exist without an altar" (Marinatos, 1986, p. 14).

Hägg agrees with Marinatos. According to Hägg, no temples existed that could be regarded as the abode of the deity, nor were traces of images in the shrines in palaces and villas.

Hood's discovery of what he claims are nine temples seems to contradict this conclusion (Hood, 1977, pp. 158-172)(see above for Hood's description of temples, p. 95).

Branigan suggests that we may draw the following conclusions from sacrifices practiced in peak sanctuaries:

1: Fire was used during the sacrifice. There is not enough ash found to show that the fire was kept burning for long periods throughout the year. This implies that the sanctuary was visited only on specific occasions.

2: The ash deposits at Petsopha, Juktas and Chaimaize appear to have been debris from previous burials.

3. At Petsophas, it is certain that figurines were thrown into the fire. The presence of many figurines representing detached limbs and sections of the body suggest that sick people appear to have dedicated models of the limbs they wished to be healed.

In antiquity, women were occasionally buried with their dead husbands as a form of sacrifice. This practice is believed to be replaced by substituting surrogate terracotta figurines of mourning women inside or outside the tomb. These figurines represented the wives of the dead, who were not required to endure the lengthy period of mourning. The question is whether this was a symbolic ritual or whether they were thrown into the fire as prayers to be carried to the deity in sacred smoke. The practice of using surrogate figures for this ritual, has led some scholars to surmise that there may have existed a ritual involved in propitiating a "divinity of healing" (Myres, John, D. 1965, p. 857).

4. To encompass such varied actions the nature of the deity or deities worshipped in these sanctuaries must have been complex. The identity of the deity remains a mystery (Hutchison, 1962, p. 221: Branigan, 1970, p. 107).

Branigan claims that, during the Early Bronze Age in Crete, the uniformity of ritual and figurine designs seem to suggest that all the sanctuaries were dedicated to one specialized deity. A connection between the Middle Minoan peak sanctuaries and the Late Minoan palace shrines is confirmed by the similarity of the vessels used in the rituals (Branigan, 1970, p. 98: p. 108). It has not been determined whether all the sanctuaries were dedicated to the same deity or whether each sanctuary had its own deity.

Hutchison suggests that perhaps Britomaris was the patron deity. He argues that the distribution of the sanctuaries was mostly in the east, where her name was retained and revered for many centuries. He indicates that the figurines of the household shrines of both the Dove Goddess of the Middle Minoan IIb period and the goddess of the Temple Repositories Middle Minoan IIIb period were dedicated to the same goddess (Hutchison, 1962, p. 221).

Faure disagrees. He claims that many differences exist among the various sanctuaries and that they cannot be connected with any single deity (Faure, 1973, p. 132).

5.2 HUMAN SACRIFICE

The discovery by Sakellarakis and Warren of the remains of possible human sacrificial victims raises the question of whether human sacrifice was a feature of the Minoan religion (Hägg and Marinatos, 1980, p. 215).

Scholars are in agreement that human sacrifice existed in the Early Bronze Age in Crete (Marinatos, 1986, introduction). Evidence that human sacrifice was practiced at Knossos and Anemospelia is partially accepted now (Warren, 1980, pp. 73-92).

In one of the principal Minoan sacrificial rites the victim seemed to have been a youthful deity who was sacrificed at the end of the fall season only to be reborn each spring.

New discoveries (1979/80) at Archanes have raised the possibility of human sacrifice in the Knossos area (National Geographic Magazine, 159, (1981), pp. 205- 222). In the Archanes building the skeletons of three people, believed to be a priest, a priestess and a probable victim were found (MMR, 259).

The west room had a stepped altar. Two skeletons of men were found in this room. Another skeleton of a youth was found in the corridor. They were all victims of an earthquake. The youth was approximately eighteen years of age. A knife was found beside him in preparation for what was thought to be a human sacrifice (Warren, 1986, p. 6).

In 1979, a building at Anemospelia on the northern slope of Mt. Juktas was discovered dating to c.1600 BC. The building contained three rooms and a cross-corridor or narthex. It may have been a religious building because in the eastern room there was a bench on which there were bowls, containers for libations, food or it may have used simply for storage. Miniature vases were found on the benches.

In the central room of Mt. Juktas a skeleton of a tall man was found. On a low table was the figure of a younger man, beside whom was found a knife or spearhead. It appears, to the excavator that the younger man was to be a human sacrifice. All perished in the destruction of the temple by an earthquake (Warren, 1988, p. 6).

Further excavations by Warren have determined that the building on Mt. Anemospelia was the most important peak sanctuary on the island. According to Warren, human sacrifice took place in the building and it remained in use throughout the Bronze Age (Warren, 1986, p. 6).

At Kato Syme in southern Crete, a shrine of eleven rooms was found with stone libation tables and stands to receive offerings. The importance of this site is that it combines a complex of rooms with apparatus, similar to equipment used in sacrifice found in the palaces. "Kato Syme offers support for unity of material expression of belief in Minoan religion, perhaps therefore also for a unity of belief or the divinity itself" (Warren, 1988, p. 7).

The remains of children's bones found at Anemospelia with cut marks suggest to the excavator some sort of ritual. Ritual sacrifice of children is known from other parts of the world. This conclusion was recently confirmed by finds in a Bronze Age temple at Amman, where thousands of mutilated children's bones were found (Mottosson, 1980, pp. 101-104 with refs, p. 134).

Sir Cyril Cox believed that he had found evidence of child sacrifice during the Bronze Age in Crete (Cox, 1959: Grinsell, 1975, p. 41).

According to Eujen, child sacrifice may have been dictated by natural calamities, such as an epidemic, suggesting that the ritual sacrifice may be a way of arresting the spread of the epidemic (Eujen, 1980, p. 212). Warren proposes that a forensic analysis may permit us to discover whether any disease was present. This analysis would shed more light on the subject (Warren, 1980, p. 212).

All the bones were from children under fifteen years of age. One mandible is from a child with his teeth in situ. MacGeorge suggested to Warren, that the purpose of this sacrifice was to extract the brain (Warren, 1980, p. 159, n. 9). X-rays of the skulls indicate no pathological abnormalities at the time of death (Warren, 1986, p. 8).

The bones resemble the finds at Anemosphelia and could be left-overs of a ritual sacrifice (Warren, 1986, p. 8). Half of the bones are ribs. Eleven per cent bore fine cut marks. The cuts were at right angles or diagonal to the bone

and seemingly were to cut the muscles (Warren, 1980, p. 159).

The discovery of a deposit of children's bones with knife marks at Knossos, the knife marks were in a particular pattern of a special ritual, suggest a possible cannibalistic feast of some minotaur (Hägg and Marinatos, 1981, pp. 155-166). However, more information is required before any positive assessment can be made (Burkert, 1985, p. 37).

A minimum of twenty-two percent of the children's bones bore intricate knife marks. The flesh on the children's bones was completely removed. If the children were only to be sacrificed it would be unnecessary to use such a complicated system of knife cuttings. This ritual could be similar to the eating of sacrificed animals. A possible explanation for the state of the bones could be that the bones were for ritual omophany (bones were not burnt) (Warren, 1980, p. 163).

Warren believes that the children were deliberately killed, sacrificed, and their flesh removed, possibly for cooking (Warren, 1986, p. 8).

According to Warren, three possible explanations for the ritual treatment of the bones are:

1: Preparation for a burial. Secondary burials were practiced in Minoan society. The final burial may have been a ritual of the removal of the flesh but there is no evidence that this

was the context of the Knossian bones. There was no cemetery or tomb nearby. There were no adult bones, yet Warren says that he does not know of secondary burials for children.

2: That the flesh was removed to be eaten seems probable. People have occasionally eaten human flesh as a last resort to prevent starvation. This occasion may have coincided with the calamity created by the violent eruption of Thera, when there may have been a lack of food.

3: The act could be a by-product of a religious ritual. This custom was later demonstrated in the Dionyios ritual, in which flesh was torn from an animal and usually eaten raw (Warren, 1980, pp. 159-162).

There is also a tradition of ritual sacrifice described in Greek literature, such as that of a boy at Potniai near Thebes (Paus. 9.82), the killing of the three daughters of Minyas (Plut. Q gr. 38) and the sacrifice of the children of Kadmos (Austin ed. 1968, Frag 79, p. 161).

Muhly suggests that the cut marks were so deep that they were inflicted not for butchery but for some sort of ritual service. He concludes that the cut marks were inflicted after the flesh had been removed. He claims that it was not a form of cannibalism but a ritual that took place after the death of the children (Muhly, 1980, p. 167). Warren concurs with Muhly's theories regarding their ritual

implications and suggests that a microscopic examination of the bones would verify Muhly's theories (Warren, 1980, p. 167).

In the Late Minoan level at Knossos, 299 human bones were found. Warren postulates that, "Cannibalism seems clearly indicated" (Warren, 1980, p. 49). Thomas disagrees. She contends that there is no evidence of cannibalism (MacDonald and Thomas, 1990, pp. 378- 9). The bones belong to two children approximately eight and eleven years old at the time of death. The children's bones had twenty-seven cut marks, showing removal of some but not all of the flesh.

Hillar postulates that, if human sacrifice is now attested in Minoan Crete, it probably occurred also on the mainland. He suggests that human sacrifice was not a normal occurrence in either religion, otherwise such sacrifice would have been recorded as a matter of routine in the lists of offerings to the deities. The occurrence of human sacrifice does not (or should not) change our interpretation of the basic character of the Minoan religion (Hillar, 1980, p. 215).

5.3 ANIMAL SACRIFICE

Academics agree that animal sacrifice was practiced throughout Crete from Early Minoan III to Late Minoan Ib, but are not in agreement regarding burnt-animal sacrifice. Neither iconographic evidence nor structures indicate burning of the victim (Bergquist, 1986, abstract).

Animal sacrifice in Crete during the early Bronze Age is now generally accepted. Evidence is known from earlier depictions on scenes and gem stones and from the Sarcophagus of Hagia Triadha. The three sources of the evidence are derived from :

1: remains of bones

2: iconography

3: alleged sacrificial structures (Bergquist, 1986, p. 21)

Lebessi points out that neither in the Minoan strata nor in the sub-Minoan strata are there any examples of burnt bones. "The only exception is a few fragmentary animal bones which are burned (perhaps in a secondary burning" (Lebessi, 1980, p. 34).

In the view of Sakellarakis, the animal which is depicted most often on pictorial representations of animal sacrifice is the bull. He collected several examples of bull sacrifice (Sakellarakis, 1970, p. 193). A Late Minoan green steatite lentoid (in Candia Museum) with a bent palm-tree in the upper field shows a bull lying on a table about to be

sacrificed (P/M, I, p. 41, fig. 26). In another example, a bull is depicted in a seal from Crete lying on a sacrificial table (Marinatos, 1986, p. 13, fig. 2). E.E.Evans-Pritchard agrees with the theory, that the bull is the most often depicted animal to be sacrificed (Evans, E.E.-Pritchard, 1940; idem, 1951, Oxford: idem, 1956).

Marinatos postulates that animal sacrifice with domesticated bulls, sheep and goats was widely practiced in rural as well as in urban areas in Crete. The sacrifice was accompanied by some sort of ritual (Marinatos, 1986, p. 9).

Minoan blood sacrifice of animals is depicted, especially of a bull, which is shown on the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha (Matz, F. 1961).

The bull-leaping games were probably another form of sacrifice. (Two acrobats usually perform this feat. An acrobat, male or female, seizes one horn of a charging bull with her right hand, while letting the other horn slip under her left arm pit. The purpose is to gain momentum as she somersaults backward on the bull's back. As she completes the cycle, the other acrobat is ready to catch her) (P/M. III, p. 212, fig. 144).

The horns of consecration probably represent some horned animal, most likely the bull. Evidence that the bull may have been worshipped in a bull cult is suggested by the finding of a bull's head rhyton.

The ritual of animal slaughter may vary with local customs but fundamentally animal sacrifice is usually

identical. Animal slaughter is the shedding of blood (Dietrich, 1974, p. 59). It is an act of "giving of the animal to the gods," suggesting a belief in the gods (Burkert, 1972).

There is no doubt that the sacrificed animal was eaten after the ceremony, yet there is no factual evidence of this conclusion except for the dishes and the remains of the victims' bones found on the sites (Marinatos, 1986, p. 37). With the present state of documentation it cannot be determined whether the remains were part of the sacral meal of the worshippers or of sacrifice (Bergquist, 1986, p. 21). Comparison with other contemporary religions indicates that sacrifice with cult meals was an almost universal custom during the Bronze Age (Bergquist, 1986, p. 21).

In ancient times the flesh of the sacrificed animal could not be taken home but had to be eaten on the spot, in the domain of the god, in a communal meal. It may be assumed that this was the practice in the Minoan religion (Nilsson, 1924, p. 79). The presence of animal bones suggests that the meat came from the sacrificed animal (Marinatos, 1986, p. 37).

After examining the remains of bones, it has been determined that more than one species of animal was sacrificed at the same time. Multiple sacrifice of animals is depicted on several examples of glyptic art. On the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha a multiple sacrifice of a bull

and two goats is depicted (Marinatos, 1986, fig 2).

Warren has summarized what he believes was the sequence of actions which would comprise the selection and any necessary preparation of the animal which occurred when an animal was being prepared to be sacrificed.

> 1: choosing and preparing the animal. There is no evidence which suggests that a prayer or ritual was performed prior to, during or after the ceremony
>
> 2: bringing the animal to a holy site: the place was determined by the occasion
>
> 3: placing the animal on a sacred table or an altar
>
> 4: cutting the animal's throat and butchering the animal
>
> 5: collecting the blood
>
> 6: possible cooking of dismembered parts
>
> 7: consumption of food in a ritual meal; eating and sacrifice are complementary to each other (Warren, 1986, p. 28).

Marinatos adds that the bull was probably stunned before it was slaughtered because it is difficult to cut the throat of a large active animal or to lift a moving bull onto a table. The bull on the altar (table) on the Hagia Triadha Sarcophagus is depicted as being tied, yet this does not eliminate the possibility of the bull having been stunned before being tied (Marinatos, 1986, p. 22).

Ecstatic dancing, human and animal sacrifice and finally the consumption of the meal were different ways of acquiring the power of the sacrificed victim (Warren, 1975, p. 165).

Although Bronze-Age animal sacrifice is generally accepted, in the view of Bergquist there is no evidence of burnt-animal sacrifice either from written or iconographic sources, as was the case in Classical times. Bergquist's conclusion is based on close Minoan ties with Egypt, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, which did not practice burnt-animal sacrifice in the Bronze Age (Bergquist, 1986, p. 21; p. 33, table No 1) (Nilsson, Supra N 21, 277f); Burkert GR , 1977, pp. 36-38).

Evidence was found at Slavokambos of charcoal combined with burnt animal bones. Similarly, new evidence from Kato Syme, and on Mt. Juktas, both in Crete, has shown that burnt offerings were common and widespread in peak and domestic sanctuaries (Dietrich, 1986, pp. 33, 54, n 75: Rutkowski, 1986, p. 44: p. 23).

Another assumption is that the burning of bones is an age-old custom. The bones are disposed of as refuse, whether they are sacred or secular. Marinatos suggests that the bonfires were made as a purification rite after the consumption of the meal (Marinatos, 1986, p. 50).

Bergquist believes that, although rich, fatty earth was found, this could be the remains of a sacred meal consumed by the worshippers and not the remains of a burnt-animal

sacrifice (Bergquist, 1986, p. 30, n 28). She contends that only when more information about the species and nature of the animal bones is found can we determine whether the bones were derived from meals or sacrifice (Bergquist, 1986, p. 34).

Warren suggests that if the bones were analyzed level by level we might be able to find out if the context reflects meal refuse or sacrificial-ritual (Warren, 1986, p. 34).

At the beginning of the Middle Minoan period the custom was to build sanctuaries at or near the tops of mountains. Remains of burnt offerings were found stuck in crevices in a structure at Skylannokambos dating to LM IA-B, showing that some form of sacrifice was performed in caves and peak sanctuaries at this time.

The layers of ash with fragments of animal bones in caves, such as at Psychro and at peak sanctuaries, suggest burnt sacrifice of animals during the MM period.

Dietrich believes that burnt-animal sacrifice was a feature of Minoan Crete which continued into Classical Greek times (Dietrich, 1974, p. 84).

Yavis endorses the occurrence of sacrificial offerings in Minoan ritual but denies the existence of burnt-animal sacrifice. His criterion is that if burnt-flesh sacrifice had been a normal practice, evidence of this would have occurred frequently and regularly in:

1: pictorial representations

2: the existence of carbonized ash and remains in shrines

3: the frequent occurrence of structures suitable for the burning of flesh offerings (Yavis, 1949).

The sacrifice of animals was accompanied by rituals such as bleeding and libation (Marinatos, 1986, p. 49). Evidence indicates that bleeding of the animal was turned into a bleeding rite (Bergquist, 1986, p. 29, fig, 10). Bleeding is a quick way of putting the animal to death. The appearance of the carcass after bleeding indicates the fitness of the meat, as only healthy animals bleed well. Sick animals bleed incompletely due to disturbed blood circulation (Bergquist, 1986, p. 32, n 37).

Marinatos postulates that the slaughter of the animals took place on movable tables, not on fixed altars. The place of sacrifice was determined by the occasion and included palaces, public squares, open spaces, and peak sanctuaries on top of mountains and in rural areas (Marinatos, 1986, p. 49).

Different animals could be used at the same sacrifice. Sacrifice was accompanied by supplementary rituals such as libations to which both the archaeological remains (receptacles) and iconographical sources (libation scenes on the Sarcophagus on the Haghia Triadha) testify. The meat of the animal was consumed in a communal meal. The presence of animal bones suggest that the meat came from a sacrificed

animal (Marinatos, 1986, p. 49).

5.4 THE INSTRUMENT OF SACRIFICE

Of all the religious signs and symbols, the double axe is the most conspicuous in the Minoan religion. It is the earliest religious symbol and appears to be the most abundant votive symbol found to date all over Crete (Dietrich, 1986, p. 38).

The double axe was imported from Anatolia and was familiar in Catyl Huyuk. It first appeared in Crete in Early Minoan I and II (Dietrich, 1974, p. 38) (Sealing from Phaistos and in Mochlos, ASA Atene 35-36, 1957, p. 58; P/M, I, 119-122, fig 70).

There is no question that the double axe was a sacred instrument (Nilsson, 1924, p. 194: Burkert, 1985, p. 38). It is sometimes found between the horns of consecration, next to the double axe, the most prominent religious symbol in the Minoan cult practice. According to Nilsson, when an object is used so frequently it tends to lose its true meaning (MMR, p. 229).

Evans claimed that the double axe was the visual impersonation of the deity (TPC. p. 8: Evans, 1914, p. 78: P/M. I, p. 443). He suggested that the double axe was a symbol of the Minoan goddess and her male associate. He believed that the double axe was the special aniconic form of the supreme Minoan divinity (Evans, BSA, 1908, p. 101:

P/M, 1, p. 447).

The evidence of the double axe as an instrument of sacrifice as well as a symbol of renewal is impressive (Dietrich, 1980, p. 39). The sacrificial axe played two parts in the ritual drama:

1: It was an instrument of death.

2: It was a symbol of renewal through release of the victim's life force. The flow of the animal's blood released its vital force. This force was a powerful agent when obtained by men (or women) to ensure re-birth and renewal (Dietrich, 1980, p. 36).

Most likely the double axe was originally used as a sacrificial instrument and in time became a religious cult symbol (Dietrich, 1986, p. 39). As a symbol, it is compared to the Christian cross and the Mohammedan crescent (Nilsson, 1924, p. 15).

Objections have been raised that the Minoan examples of double axes were impractical and unfit for the purpose of sacrifice (Dietrich, 1986, p. 38). Nilsson concurs. He points out that the Minoan sacrificial double axe would have been inadequate in the sacrifice of a bull which had not first been felled by an axe as in the Greek religion (GGR 13, 278).

The double axe had different uses. It could be used as a tool for everyday practice, for religious rituals or for ornamentation, as in the form of an amulet. For each

function it was constructed differently.

Two miniature ornamental gold axes were found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae. Their style and decoration suggest that they were definitely Minoan. This could indicate that the Mycenaeans continued the Minoan tradition of using the double axe as an instrument of sacrifice after the Minoan domination of the mainland, or it could suggest a sort of Minoan offering in a Mycenaean grave as some sort of tribute (Schliemann, H. 1878, p. 290, Fig 368: MMR, p. 199).

According to Dietrich, women played an important role in Minoan sacrificial practices but they were seldom depicted holding the sacrificial instrument of killing (Dietrich, 1986, p. 39: Marinatos, 1986, p. 35, note, 139). Despite the prominent role played by women in the ceremonies, they are never depicted in the act of killing the animal, even in scenes in which they are officiating, (as we see in the post-kill on the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha) (Marinatos, 1986, p. 35, n. 139).

In a seal from Vapheio a priestess is depicted carrying a sacrificed animal, yet this does not prove that the animal was killed by the woman (CMS 1, p. 220: Marinatos, 1986, p. 35, fig. 23: P/M. II, 719-720, fig. 450). Men are depicted hunting and slaying an agrimi (bull-like animal with an elongated nose) in a seal from Crete (Marinatos, 1986, fig. 25) while in fig 26, a priestess is shown with only the head of a sacrificed animal (Marinatos, 1986, p. 43). This does not indicate that the woman killed the animal, only that she

is carrying the remains. According to Marinatos, the hunting and killing was done by men and the consecration was performed by women (Marinatos, 1986, p. 35). A reason why women are not shown killing an animal is that men are more prepared to kill than women (Burkert, 1985, p. 14).

Boulois disagrees with the view that the double axe is associated only with women. He points out that the only evidence obtained comes from lentoid seals, which are too small to have more than one figure. He claims that there are only two representations where this is the case: a seal impression and a matrix from Sitia. In a third example the sex is uncertain. He contends that two examples are not enough to draw a conclusion (Boulois, 1986, p. 40).

Marinatos refutes this contention, pointing out that there are many scenes in glyptic art where more than one person is depicted (Marinatos, 1986, p. 20).

5.5 BURIAL RITUAL

There is no doubt that sacrifice was part of funerary rituals in all periods. More can be learnt from ritual practices than from life itself (Burkert, 1985, p. 10). Ritual sacrifice of humans and animals was practiced in civilizations that existed at the same time as that of Crete (Grinsell, 1975, p. 39). Evidence of human sacrifice was found in the Royal Tomb at Ur, Mesopotamia, c.2200-1800 BC (Gado, 1960). Homer mentions the burial of Petroclus with

(Gado, 1960). Homer mentions the burial of Petroclus with twelve nobles (Iliad XXIII).

Unexplained ritual seemed to be an integral feature in Minoan burial customs. The actual burial tomb was too small to accommodate a large number of people. The ritual acts were probably performed in an adjacent ante-chamber or entirely outdoors in the vicinity of the burial sites (Branigan, 1970b, p. 39).

Sacrifice at the tomb is attested by bones of animals found nearby. Deposits of figurines, amulets and specially made vessels for specific ritual purposes were found in Minoan tombs (Branigan, 1970b, p. 92). The slaughter of animals can be traced to the time before the discovery of agriculture (Burkert, 1977, p. 58). Sacrifice was made and offerings were brought to the tomb at the time of burial. The animals were slaughtered and offerings of fruit, wine and bread were handed out to the guests. This ceremony was accompanied by music (Hooker, 1977, p. 137).

The dead were presumably summoned by the ritual to rise from the grave and partake of the offerings (Papapostolou, 1981, p. 25). The ritual of burial was connected with the celebration of the birth and growth of nature (Dietrich, 1974, p. 158).

The depictions on the Sarcophagus of Hagia Triadha suggest a burial sacrifice of some sort (Marinatos, 1986, p. 12). The scenes on the panels of the Sarcophagus are the most important detailed burial portrayals of animal ritual

sacrifice. The painted frieze on the four panels shows various stages of a ritual ceremony being performed during the burial (Sakellarkis, 1985, p. 113).

In the center panel of the Haghia Triadha Sarcophagus is a scene of a bull having been slaughtered. Two goats, tied up below the table, are waiting to be killed. On the right, a woman dressed in an animal skin holds a basket of fruit. A double axe, on which a bird is perched, symbolizes the epiphany of the deity. An altar is set beside a tree crowned with sacred horns. These depictions have all the elements of a burial ceremony.

The presence of an apparent elite, elegantly dressed priestess on the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha, raises a question. Marinatos inquires about the reasons for performing funerary sacrifice. "Was this function of sacrifice carried out only for and by the privileged elite? Was there a specific occasion for this sacrifice? How was it performed? Who performed the sacrifice and conducted the rites, men or women?" (Marinatos. 1980, p. 9).

Women of high status are officiating in the scenes on the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha. They are attired in ritual clothes of an animal with an elaborate head-dress. It may be an elite affair but there is no evidence for this assumption. A woman, believed to be a priestess, is touching the altar (or table) with both hands in some sort of prayer or blessing. Painted above is a libation jug and a basket of fruit or bread, indicating that a meal of some sort was to

be consumed. Behind the priestess, a newly-slaughtered bull lies on an altar (or table) with blood running from its throat. A vessel catches the blood, which is probably to be used during the libation ritual. A procession is in progress. A male flutist accompanies the ceremony. Behind him is a procession of five females in ceremonial posture (Marinatos, 1986, p. 19).

Dancing and chanting were usually performed during these ceremonies, as depicted in the Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco (P/M, III, p. 66, Plate, XV111).

According to Marinatos, in Minoan Crete there was an important post-sacrificial ritual ceremony conducted in front of the dead animal before the meal was consumed (Marinatos, 1986, p. 49). In a seal from Mallia, a woman and a man are shown in front of a dead animal. Their arms are outstretched towards the sacrificial table, palms down suggesting a prayer or an attempt to communicate with the deity (Marinatos, 1986, p. 15, fig. 7). This ceremony must have been important as there are several examples (Marinatos, 1986, p. 16). Significantly the post-kill phase was also important to the Egyptians (Lange and Hirmer, 1975, pl. 83).

5.6 PROCESSIONS

Processions are an integral part of religious ritual and sacrificial ceremonies. They are a means of allowing a

large part of the community to take part in or to observe the rite (Marinatos, 1986, p. 32). According to Evans, the causeways found in the pavement of the courts at each palace were processional paths (P/M. II, pp. 394-400).

Both men and women took part in processions. Care should be taken here, for the sexes are never mixed, a fact confirmed by iconographical evidence in "The Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco".

5.7 Ritual Action

It was generally acknowledged at the end of the last century that ritual is more important in understanding ancient religions than mythology (Burkert, 1973, p. 54). Rutkowski agrees with this hypothesis. He contends that more can be learned about religion from ritual than from life itself (Rutkowski, 1972, pp. 272-274)

Warren cites four examples of ritual action, which he groups into a general framework. The sequence is hypothetical. There are no texts setting out the ritual procedure like those of the Egyptians or the Hittites. All conclusions are speculative (Warren, 1986, p. 13).
1: dance. 2: baetyl. 3: dress. 4: flower foliage.

5.7. i: Dance

Ritual could involve ecstatic dancing and apparent trance-like conditions, which were probably accompanied by music, as has been suggested by Evans and Nilsson (P/M, III, pp. 140-144: Nilsson, MMR, p. 275).

The importance of the dance is implied in the Iliad, in which Homer speaks of a dance floor at Knossos built by Daedalus for Ariadne (Iliad, 18.592: MMR, 279: P/M, III, p. 68).

According to Burkert, "Not a single ancient initiation festival can be found that is without dancing" (Burkert, GR. 105). Most scholars agree with this conclusion; Evans and Lawler have established dance as a ritual action in Minoan Crete (Lawler, 1964, Chapter 2: Mylonas, G., ed. (1951) pp. 23-25).

Models from Kalimari and Palakaistro c1400-1375 BC, depict four figures, who appear to be women, dancing on a circular plate (MMR, 1950, p. 109, fig. 39). The models from Kalimari and Palakaistro attest to their Cretan root (Warren, 1986, Plate 4). The earliest representational scene of the dance is on a bowl from the Palace of Phaistos, which depicts dancers with the image of a goddess c.1700 BC. (Warren, 1986, fig.5).

Another cult scene on a clay impression recently found at Khania and dating to c.1450 BC, shows two figures dancing

around or before what appears to be a shrine with a tree or branch (Warren, 1986, Plate, 6). The figures at Khania appear to be women although the figures at Kalamari may be of either sex. The action takes place on a circular platform (Warren, 1986, PLate 4). The dance floor depicted is similar to the type from Palakaistro but on a different base.

At Palaikastro the arms of the dancers are folded across their chests while at Khania the arms of the two dancers are extended towards each other with their palms up or down. Different movements are depicted in Plate 6 at Khania and Plate 4 at Palakaistro (Warren, 1986, p. 15). This implies that there may have been different types of ritual dancing as the occasion required, or that there were different arm positions at different stages of the dance.

The dance covers many kinds of movements, not all associated with religious rituals. It could be secular, performed with formalized movements on a round platform in form of a lily with flowers or as a victory dance after a battle (Warren, 1986, p. 14). Homer describes such a scene on the Shield of Achilles (Iliad, XVIII, 590 seq).

Dancing before an altar or a sacred tree led to the epiphany of the goddess depicted by a figure descending from the sky (Gesell, 1985, p. 4: TPC. p. 12).

The dance was usually preceded by a procession to the dance floor (Iliad, XVIII, 590). A special ceremony for conjuring the epiphany was the ritual dance of ecstatic character (KMT, pl 36: GGR. pl. 6). The function of the

dance was the invocation of the divinity. Another ritual was performed when the divinity arrived (Warren, 1975, p. 205).

Men and women dance singly or in groups but there are no signs of children dancing. A clay model of a circular ring from Kalimari near Phaistos represents four naked men with pointed caps dancing between cult horns (Rutkowski, 1972, 211, fig 90. The circular dance floor is similar to the models from Kalimari and Palakaistro.

5.7. ii: Baetylic Rituals

Baetyl ritual is a form of ecstatic ceremonial movement with naked or semi-naked figures clasping or kissing a rounded stone. The purpose was:

1: to locate the power of the divinity within the stone

2: to secure the presence of and gain communion with the divinity through voice invocation and ecstatic dancing (Warren, 1986, p. 18).

The religious meaning is reenforced by the presence of epiphanic birds and a wide range of cult symbols, such as the sacred knots and columns depicted in art (TPC. p. 18).

The baetylic stone was always there as a material home for the spiritual being (Persson, 1942, p. 13). The goddess appeared as a bird or snake epiphany in a sacred place (Matz, 1958, p. 16). There is no evidence of a pillar or tree cult in the sense that worship was paid to them for

divine power. Who performed the Minoan rituals remains a mystery (Cottrell, 1971, p. 122).

A procedure for conjuring the epiphany was the ritual of shaking the tree (Furumark, 1960, p. 91). The main characteristics of the tree and pillar cult are common to many primitive religions (Persson, 1942, p. 7). The living tree can be converted into a column or pillar (TPC, p. 8).

Several gold rings were found at Haghia Triadha and Kylyvia Mesara. The scenes depict a male or female kneeling or touching a rounded or oval stone (Warren, 1986. p. 17, Plates, 8-9).

In the late 1960s, another series of similar impressionistic scenes of baetylic rituals on gold rings was found at Sellopoulo, Archanes and the Palace of Zakros.

At Sellopoulo a nude man leans on a stone and beckons to a bird. He links the bird to the stone. The bird is believed to be epiphanic, conveying the presence or power of the divinity to the stone baetyl and transfer to the human who touches it (Warren, 1986, p. 17, Plate 7).

There are three actions in the scene at Archanes; a dancing female figure is in the center, a male pulling at a tree in a tripartite shrine and another male clasping a large circular object (Warren, 1986, p. 16).

In a scene from Zakros a female leans on a large stone and beckons to a huge butterfly, which fulfills the epiphany as do the birds on the Sarcophagus of Hagia Triadha (Warren, 1986, plate 7). In another scene a nude woman clasps and

kisses a round stone in a rocky background. The object is to locate the power of the divinity within the stone and to gain communion with the divinity (Warren, 1986, Plate 9).

The rituals depicted in these scenes may be a form of ecstasy. The religious significance of the epiphany of the birds, the butterflies and the ritual action is confirmed by the presence of the wide range of cult symbols. These symbols are the language which confirms the action and the presence of the divinity (Warren, 1986, p. 18).

Bird epiphany is common in Minoan religion. Doves play an important part in early cult ritual (TPC, p. 7). Birds are depicted sitting on ritual buildings, holy objects, double axes and horns of consecration during sacrificial rituals.

These baetylic rituals are part of a wider class of rituals intended to secure the presence of the divinity, as described by Evans. The cult scenes reveal the ritual actions performed by the Minoans, which obviously relate to the Minoan religion. Their actions are confirmed by the remains of the objects found in situ (Warren, 1986. p. 18).

Ritual ceremonies appear in other than human forms. Ritual acts are often shown being carried out not only by human votaries but by grotesque monsters. These are known as Minoan daemons or genii (P/M, IV, 431-467: MMR, p. 376-383).

Another ritual has been interpreted as "mourning" but the meaning is not clear.

In Minoan Crete the divinity is conspicuously absent during the sacrifice (Mauss, H. 1968, pp. 193-307: Marinatos, 1986, p. 11). However, in the view of Nilsson, the two birds sitting on the poles with double axes on the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha are actually the epiphany of the deities (MMR, pp. 330-340). Yet there is no convincing argument that the birds are more than the messengers of the gods (Marinatos. 1986, p. 12).

A possible reason for the absence of the deity during sacrifice in Minoan Crete is that no temples are believed to have existed to house cult images in the neo-palatial period. The existence of temples in Minoan Crete has been denied by Nilsson (Refer to p. 94) (MMR, p. 77). Furumark concurs (OpAth 6, 1968, p. 90f). Hood has recently challenged this theory. He found ruins of what he claims are nine shrines which existed in Crete prior to c.1450 BC, (Minoan Town Shrines, 1977, p. 158)(refer to p. 95). Rutkowski concurs with Hood (Rutkowski, 1986, p. 154-168). Marinatos questions this conclusion.

According to Marinatos, despite all attempts to prove the contrary, no clear architectural types have been excavated that qualify as a temple (Marinatos, 1986, pp. 14-15). There was no evidence for or against this theory during the Evans-Nilsson era.

5.7.iii: ROBE RITUAL

Many different kinds of offerings of a robe or garment may be made when the deity is believed to be present in the shape of a person, a bird, a priestess or an aniconic object. These are presented as a supplication to the divinity.

Warren suggests various stages for the Minoan robe ritual:

1: A robe had to be made, dyed and embroidered. Over eighty loomweights were found in the basement of a room (called the "Loomweight Basement"). This room was adjacent to the Throne room at Knossos. The loomweights seemed to have fallen from the floor above. The loomweights were probably parts of the loom used to weave the sacred cloth. The cloth was dyed in saffron colors. A robe or an elaborate skirt was found on a cult statue in a basement at Knossos. It has not been determined whether a new robe was made for each ceremony.

2: A procession to bring the sacred robe to the shrine. Three scenes from Haghia Triadha, Zakros and Knossos document this stage (Warren, 1986, Plate 11). Double axes are present at Haghia Triadha, where a semi-naked woman is

carrying a robe. Women clad, or unclad, are performing baetyl rituals. This act identifies the robe with a special status since it is carried in a procession. The Haghia Triadha sealing depicts a semi-naked woman carrying a robe. Women who perform this ritual are presumed to be summoning the divinity, to whom the robe may be offered at a baetylic location.

3: The third part of the ritual was presenting the robe or an elaborate decorated skirt to a figure which seemed to have a special status. (Warren 1986, figs. 12-13).

Marinatos contends the recipient was a deity. Her reason is that the recipient is larger than the other females handling the robe (Marinatos, 1986, p. 10, note 2).

4: The fourth stage, the adoration of the robe is problematic. The robe or garment has a special status when carried in a procession. The adoration of the robe is depicted on a lentoid seal from Mallia, House A, where two figures touch a robe between them (Warren 1986, p. 22). The presentation could be a coronation of the recipient.

5.7.iv: FLOWER RITUAL

Given the enormous amount of flora found in Crete, the ritual use of flowers may be assumed. The ritual action of the use of flowers is depicted in four stages:

1: The gathering of the flowers. The flowers are collected by women dressed in special robes, implying a particular event. A scene is depicted on the walls in room 14 at Haghia Triadha, where women are gathering crocuses.

2: The formal arrangement of the flowers in chains or circular garlands. This is the first illustration of circular garlands in Crete. Five styles of arrangements of flowers are described by Warren (Warren, 1986, fig 14, 15).

3: After preparation a procession of women carries the flowers (Warren 1986, Plate 16).

4: Presentation or offering the flowers to the divinity. The fourth stage can take other forms: placing the flowers on an altar, suspending the flowers in a shrine or crowning the goddess.

Offerings of flowers are associated with dances, as described in the early dance scenes from Phaistos (Warren, 1986, p. 26).

Many of the Minoan flowers and plants are connected with fertility, the promotion of life or the prevention of death. Flowers and plants are associated with Eileithyia, the goddess helpful in childbirth (Warren, 1986, p. 27).

CHAPTER 6

SACRED GARMENTS

Dress has recently been introduced by scholars into the study of the Minoan religion.

6.1 MALE DRESS

Among male costumes there is little diversity; women's garments vary greatly. The males are usually nude except for a kind of pocket-like striped cod-piece (loin cloth), foot-gear, necklaces, bracelets, anklets of precious metals and a girdle with a dagger and a flat tang inserted in the handle (P/M, I, p. 153); P/M I, Fig, 142c: Glotz, 1925, p. 69, Fig. 7; Vaughn, 1959, p. 125). The loin cloth developed into a kind of thick truss, which was kept in place by a tight belt. It was designed to protect the genitals (Cottrell, 1971, p. 66). Sometimes they wear a small disc-like cap (P/M, I, p. 153).

Evans claims that the Minoan loin cloth was adapted from the 'Libyan Sheath' or penistasche (P/M, II, pp. 34-35; P/M, IV, p. 23, Fig. a, b, c).

When boxing or wrestling, the males appear to be nude except for a circular belt around their waists (P/M, III, p. 500, fig, 343). During the boxing sport the male

opponents wear boxing gloves.

6.2 FEMALE DRESS

A Snake Goddess, found in an independent sanctuary at Fournou Korifi near Myrtos, was worshipped as early as the EM II period, c.2600 BC, (Warren, 1972, 78-87). She wears a style of dress with woven patches stitched together. All patches are rectangular except the one showing the pubic triangle, a feature rarely indicated on Minoan figures. The striped snake, which runs down her arms and loops around her neck, marks her as the perhaps the earliest example of a Snake Goddess, about 1000 years prior to the Knossian Snake Goddess, MM III (Gesell, 1981, p. 94).

In her eclectic image the dress of the goddess varies. As "Our Lady of Sports" she wears the male loin cloth with her body protected by a body harness of metal or leather (P/M, IV, part 1, Frontispiece, Plate, XXVII). This practice continued from the MM period onward.

Ladies' robes of the MM I period were more elaborate than men's garments. The women's dresses were tight-waisted with long bell-shaped flounced skirts, a tight open bodice with prominently exposed breasts (the exposed breasts are a sign of fertility). The bodice rises into a Medici collar. The Medici collar was a feature of EM III and survived into MM II(P/M I, p. 152 fig. 111a: p. 277, fig, 207k). It disappeared in the latter part of the MM III era.

To make their skirts fit tightly and to achieve such slender waists, wich helped to accentuate their breasts, women used a metallic strip, usually a belt which they rolled around their waists (Glotz, 1925, p. 75). This feature is noted on seals dating to EM II and survived into MM II (P/M I, p. 153, fig. 111a).

The more or less cylindrical form of the lower part of the image found in the shrines at the beginning of the Late Minoan age at Gournia and Prinia is really an outgrowth of the bell-shaped skirts that were in vogue in MMI and MMII (P/M. IV, p. 27). The Minoan skirt did not reach the extreme crinoline style of the 18th century.

The skirt of the MM II era was covered with an apron held thightly by a girdle. A blouse with puffed sleeves or a jacket with half sleeves completed the ensemble. The dresses were decorated with exquisite small-scale patterns of crocus flowers. Occasionally the women wore a hat(P/M I, p. 152, figs. b, d, e).

Women also wore the loin cloth (P/M IV, p. 34, fig. 12, 18). During the bull-baiting sport, which Evans considered to be a religious ceremony, the female toreadors wore the loin- cloth with a very narrow metallic girdle and stripped slippers. They divested themselves of all feminine attire except their head-gear. Their curled locks were decorated with a blue bandeau, and they wore a beaded necklace, thus adopting the sporting costume of the male performers (P/M, I, p. 21, fig. 11: MacDonald and Thomas,

1990, p. 159). Females do not appear in any depictions in connection with other forms of sacred sports, such as boxing and wrestling (P/M, IV, p. 22, fig. 12).

Although frescoes seem to tell a great deal about women's clothes, the information is deceptive. Very little is known of women's everyday clothes. The dress costume was worn by the upper classes but whether the lower classes wore similar garments is unknown. We have no way of knowing to what extent the Knossian dress is a religious garment or the conventional style of the period (Vermeule, 1964, p. 179, Plate XXVII).

Most scenes involving women seem to have been ceremonial (Marinatos, 1986, p. 32). The religious status of the Minoan women was differentiated by their costumes, hair styles and jewelry. The floral skirt was apparently worn by women during all religious ceremonies (Warren, 1986, p. 22).

When females appear as votaries in religious processional frescoes, their dress is a short-sleeved jacket and an ankle-length skirt with thin embroidered stripes sewn on for flounces (Marinatos, 1986, p. 32).

The ladies' style at the beginning of the MM III and LM I was a bell-shaped flounced skirt with a belt. Above the belt is a close-fitting short-sleeved bodice supporting the naked breasts (P/M, IV, p. 162).

The dress of the goddess changes with her association in social life (P/M, IV, p. 27). Whether in her plastic or pictorial shape, she is usually presented as following the

latest styles in dress (P/M IV, p. 27: Willetts, 1962, p. 76).

The dress of the faience goddess (Middle Minoan III) from the western room of the Temple Repositories of Knossos is different from that of the goddess from the eastern room although both apparently date to the same period.

The Snake Goddess from the western room wears a high tiara, purplish-brown in color, with a white border surmounted with a snake. The snake, raising its head above the tiara hints of the uraeus on the head of the Egyptian Goddess Hathor (P/M, I, p. 509). A tight bodice acts as a frame to contain her exposed breasts, which are accentuated by a necklace. The richly embroidered bodice consists of a spiraliform decoration, a laced corselet, and a skirt with norizontal lines. Worn over the skirt is a short double apron. Three snakes, with greenish striped bodies, are coiled about the goddess. She holds a snake in her right hand. The snake's body follows the contours of her shoulders to her left hand. Two snakes are intertwined around her hips forming a girdle. One of the snakes runs up the left fringe of the bodice over her left ear and coils up around and on top of the tiara (P/M, I, p. 501, fig. 359: p. 502, fig. 360a, 360b)

The Knossos Snake Goddess MM III, c.1600-1550 BC, of the eastern Temple Repositories wears a seven-layer dress. The garment is held together with a girdle, covered with an apron, a tight-waisted bodice, a jacket of half-sleeves with

prominent exposed breasts. The dress is decorated with exquisite small-scale patterns, including borders of crocus flowers. She holds two snakes in her outstretched hands and two snakes are twined around her waist. She has a prominent headdress surmounted with a cat, perhaps a royal symbol (P/M, I, 494-523; Warren, 1975, p. 45)

A smaller faience figure dating to MM III is believed to be a votary or a double of the goddess. She wears a skirt of many flounces over which is a double apron and a sleeved bodice. Around her waist, instead of the snakes is what seems to be a tight metal corselet (P/M I, p. 502-503, figs. 360a, 360b, 361).

The faience figurines from palatial shrines display every detail of the fashionable dress of Court ladies depicted in the frescoes, as in the "Ladies in Blue Fresco." Niemeier claims that dressing the goddess was part of a ritual preparation for a performance of a type of epiphany (Niemeier, W.D., (1987) p. 60).

In the representations of cult scenes other types of dress are used, which must be considered as having sacral or ritual significance. A long white stole robe, believed to be a sacral garment, is worn by both male and female. In the "Palaquin Fresco " (MM IIIb-LM I) a white gown completely covers the bodies of the male votaries (P/M, I, pp. 770-773, fig. 332b). Similar long white robes, worn by men and women, are depicted in the "Processional Fresco". In the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha, both the girl who pours the

libations and the youth who plays the lyre wear this style of garment (P/M, IV, p. 408).

6.3 ANIMAL SKINS

From the earliest prehistoric time, a garment made of animal skins was worn by either sex (MMR, p. 155). This garment was an apron-like skirt that was wrapped around the lower part of the body (P/M, I, p. 155). Shortened it became the traditional loin cloth worn by the male. On certain religious occasions it became a skirt and reached to the ankles of either sex. On the Sarcophagus of Hagia Triadha the priestess and the male bearers wear such long skirts (Vaughn, 1955, p. 126). The remainder of the costume is a rustic corselet as depicted in the Harvester Vase (P/M II, Part 1, supplement Plate XVII). It was worn principally by princes, high dignitaries and priests (Glotz, 1925, p. 71).

Paribeni has proved conclusively that the animal's hide is associated with religion. He suggests that votaries wore the skins of their victims (Paribeni, 1948, pp. 18-22).

According to Persson, the strength and power of the animal lived in its hide. Clad in the hide, man assumes the magical power associated with the animal. Persson suggests that the strength of the bull is transferred through the horns to the bearer. This may be a religious explanation of the sacral powers attributed to the horns of consecration (Persson, 1942, p. 161).

In the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha the chief officiants during the sacrifice wear another type of garment. It begins at the waist and is fastened with a girdle and falls straight downward in folds. The surface is white and dotted with short red or black undulating lines. Its lower outline is rounded, almost semi-circular (MMR, p. 155) and has what appears to be a short tail at the back (Willetts, 1969, p. 72). It should be noted that the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha dates to the LM III, i.e. it could be describing Mycenaean rather than Minoan religious practices.

The upper parts of the men are nude but the women wear the open bodice decorated with broad bands (Nilsson, 1927, p. 132). Comparable garments are worn by the two priestesses and the three men who carry a libation jug in the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha (MMR, p. 427, Fig, 196). A similar scene is depicted on the other panels of the Sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha (Paribeni, 1948, p. 71).

6.4 CUIRASS

As a rule the torso of the male is nude. However, at times, the upper part of the body is protected by a sort of cassock. This garment is made of overlapping piece-like scales of metal. It was usually fabricated of gaily patterned material with bright richly embroidered colors.

It could be taken for a cuirass (Glotz, 1925, p. 71).

According to Nilsson and Demarque, different types of dresses played a significant role in religious ceremonies. Garments, such as the skirt and the cuirass, are worn by the leader depicted on the "Harvester Vase" (Marinatos, 1986, p. 58: MMR. 161, fig 66). It covers the upper part of the body and terminates below in a band or belt. To this is attached a piece of broad pleated material. This garment is similar to the garment on a seal impression from the Palace of Hagia Triadha, which shows a man clad in a hide garment covered by a cuirass (MMR. p. 156, fig. 63).

The cuirass is a long one-piece ceremonial costume which was worn by either sex. It is wide enough to cover their arms. Glotz claims that it was worn by princes and priests and only appeared in religious scenes (Glotz, 1925, p. 71: Evans, 1912, p. 290, n. 14). Proof that it is associated with a religious ritual is that it is worn by a woman dressed in a skirt with an animal's tail with a double axe floating in the air. The oldest known example appeared on a figurine from Petsofa dating to Early Minoan III (Glotz, 1925, p. 74, fig. 62).

Evans pointed out that the cuirass is only found in connection with religious and ceremonial scenes. It is not shown in connection with warlike material, yet he could not explain its meaning (Evans, 1912, p. 290, n. 14).

According to Demarque, the cuirass is a sacred dress of the Minoan goddess. He suggests that it must have played

some part in the religious ritual (Demargue, P. 1948, p. 280).

6.5 SACRED KNOT

The Sacred Knot is another sacred garment. It was worn by women at festivals and appears to have had religious significance. The hair of "La Parisienne" is fastened with this type of knot (P/M, IV, p. 385).

The Sacred Knot is also presented as a religious symbol when joined with a representation of the double axe (Platon, 1971, p. 131)

When female votaries wear the knot--the goddess is never shown wearing it--their relation to the divinity is implied (Persson, 1942, p. 93). The Sacred Knot is generally depicted in pairs when associated with Minoan ritual (P/M, I, p. 431. A female votary is depicted wearing a Sacred Knot on her shoulder (P/M I, p. 433, fig 311). These examples attest to the religious association of the Sacred Knot (P/M IV, p. 608, Fig A, K, B1).

6.6 ORNAMENTATION

Ornamentation was a significant factor in the religious dress of both Cretan men and women. The dress of Minoans was adorned with luxurious decorations. Women and men, even the

least prosperous, wore jewelry of every category, such as necklaces, earrings, rings, pendants and diadems. The scantiness of the male costume was complemented by the generous use of silver and gold ornaments. Men wore jeweled collars, broad armlets and bracelets. Some males wore a seal suspended from the neck and a gold fingerling used as a signet (Vaughn, 1959, p. 127).

The "Dove Goddess," LM III, wears a fourfold necklace ar d her neck composed of three rows of beads and one row of triangular plaques. On either wrist she wears a fine circlet set with a large gem and on either arm a string of precious stones (Glotz, 1925, p. 81: p. 247, fig. 42).

The Chieftain depicted on the Chieftan Vase wears a triple necklace (Glotz, 1925, p. 155, fig. 27).

The Priest-King from Knossos, LM Ib, dating certified by comparison with vessels which date to this period, wears a broad gold chain from shoulder to shoulder and a crown which appears to be made of metal work (Glotz, 1925, p.318) (P/M. II, Frontis- piece, Pl. XIV). On his left wrist, he wears a thin bangle in which is set a large agate stone, and on the same arm, around the biceps, there is a broad blue bracelet with a double rim (Glotz, 1925, pp. 80-82). His hair is decorated with a ring of waz-like lilies (a form in the shape of a lily) and is beautifully plumed (P/M, II, p. 779, fig. 507a; P/M, III, p. 774).

6.7 HEAD DRESS

Head coverings appear to have been an important component of women's dress as depicted on the figurines of goddesses from the beginning of the MM period (Myres, BSA. IX, 370-372, Pl XI, 15 -20).

Hats appeared in various shapes, such as hoods, sailor caps, helmets and three-cornered caps. They were trimmed with feathers, rosettes and lace (Glotz, 1925, p. 79). The hat was made with a wide, turned-up brim and is small at the base. Another style had the brim turned up in the shape of a funnel with a flattened crown. Later, hats disappeared because women preferred simple ornamentation. The colors of the hats were yellow, purple and blue (Mosso, A., 1907, pp. 136-139).

According to Glotz, the goddess takes many forms, such as the Sea Goddess, The Dove Goddess and the War Goddess. As the War Goddess, she has a tiara for a head cover (Glotz, 1925, p. 250, fig. 46). The goddess of the Temple Repositories has a snake to cover her head. The Priest King's head is adorned with elaborate three-plumage feathers (P/M, II, Part 2, Frontispiece).

6.8 COLOR IN DRESS

Throughout the Palace period, the color saffron was an

integral part of the Minoan culture. The saffron crocus was a special tribute to the Great Mother Goddess(P/M, I, p. 265). In the ancient world saffron was a favorite color for the dress of the goddesses and vied with purple as a royal badge (P/M, IV, p. 718).

Crete was well suited for the growth of the saffron plant (crocus sativus). The best example is from the "Saffron Gatherer" (P/M I, pp. 265-266, Plate IV). Its religious connection is marked by its appearance on the Trullos Stone Ladle (P/M, I, p. 626, fig. 463).

Saffron is the prevailing color of the dancers performing a religious dance in the Miniature Fresco, the "Sacred Grove and Dance" fresco (P/M, III, p. 71, Plate XVIII). The "Dancing Female" from the Queen's megaron wears a saffron colored jacket (P/M, III, fig. 40).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

During the early part of the twentieth century, historical interpretation was one of the most neglected fields in the study of the civilizations of the Aegean world. Only recently have the views of 19th-century philologists, which were the basis of many conceptions developed in the 20th century, been questioned and modified. No common research method concerning Aegean religion has yet been adopted by Minoan scholars, nor has the theoretical framework employed changed since the time of Evans, Nilsson and Wace. The understanding of the prehistoric past has not kept pace with the available material.

Creteology is a relatively new discipline, less than 100 years old. Evans' first discoveries whetted the curiosity of many academics and stimulated interest in the Minoan civilization, and the wealth of new information since has expanded our knowledge of Minoan religion.

After the discovery of the Minoan civilization by Evans, scholars initially tended to agree that there was little difference in practice between the Minoan and Mycenaean religions. These views changed with the deciperment of Linear B by Ventris and the application of more sophisticated methods to the existing evidence.

Evans criticized the methods of early excavators, yet his actions were no better. The efforts of early researchers should not be downgraded; their conclusions should be considered based on the evidence available to them. But since they had no basis for comparison, the conclusions of early excavators should be re-examined and re-interpreted.

Evans' interpretation of the data available to him has been contradicted, beginning with his contemporaries and continuing to the present. Yet later investigations have also caused many of Evans' conclusions to be confirmed. For example, Evans' dating of the "Sword Tablets" has been re-affirmed by Hood (1962, Feb, 17).

Evans' analytical description of the Palace at Knossos and Nilsson's synthesis of the Minoan religious artifacts and iconography, although both somewhat outdated, still form the basis of any study of Minoan religion.

Nilsson's synthesis of the available evidence and his separation of the Minoan and Mycenaean religions were his major contribution to the understanding of Aegean religion.

Analysis of the stratigraphy and of the growing body of evidence derived from material and pictorial sources helps modern scholars in understanding the central role religion played in the development of Minoan culture. The general consensus of contemporary scholars is that we should not isolate one monument, one room in a palace, one artifact or one deity but should integrate all the evidence into a

plausible general theory or conclusion.

AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

7.1 GODDESS

The history of the Minoan goddess can be divided into 3 stages.

1: The early neolithic period c.3000-c.2200 BC

2: The Minoan period c.2200-c.1600 BC

3: The Mycenaean period c.1600-1400 BC

The early neolithic version of the Goddess is compared to Mother-earth, stressing her physical reproductive organs such as large protuberant breasts and emormous heavy thighs. She was a single deity with subordinate boy-god.

During the Minoan period, c.2200-1600 BC, as the Minoan society became more affluent and more sophisticated, it appears, at this time, that the powers of the goddess were expanded to include dominion over the sea, land and sky.

The arrival of the Mycenaeans c.1600 BC, heralded a decline of the goddess who was replaced by Zeus. The Mycenaeans were a war-like people and it is more likely that they preferred a male god to female goddess to lead them in battle.

7.2 MATRIARCHAL SOCIETY

There is no question that Minoan women were held in esteem and occupied an important position in Minoan society. In my opinion, the idea of a matriarchal society has been exaggerated by Evans. There is no definite evidence that the Minoans were a matriarchal society.

Evans contradicts himself by suggesting that a man, not a woman, sat on the throne in the Throne Room at Knossos. Would it not be more likely that a woman sat on the throne if the Minoans were a matriarchal society?

7.3 PALACES

The palaces in Crete were certainly the centers of Minoan society. The large number of rooms at Knossos (1200) suggests that the palace was a city-state by itself.

There were shrines, halls for government, private quarters, and many small work shops. The central court was probably the area where religious festivals and games, such as bull-leaping, were held.

7.4 POLYTHEISM

Linear B has confirmed that polytheism existed in Crete under the Mycenaeans. Caution should be exercised since Linear B is Greek and was introduced by the Mycenaeans c.1600 BC. That is, this may be expressing the Mycenaean view. It is not known if polytheism was practiced prior to

c.1600 BC. Only when Linear A is deciphered will the problem be resolved.

I agree with Warren's solution. He claimed that a form of "dual monotheism" was practiced during the Minoan era and polytheism was practiced during the Mycenaean period.

7.5 SYMBOLS

Symbols and symbolism are associated with all religions, ancient or modern. It may be assumed, therefore, that symbols were a part of the Minoan religion. The Minoan symbols, the double axes, the horns of consecration and the snake are the most frequently depicted symbols associated with the goddess. On this basis, it may be assumed that these symbols played an important function in the Minoan religion.

7.6 PEAK SANCTUARIES

All modern scholars agree that peak sanctuaries were the principal sites where worship was practiced in Crete. The evidence is abundant, yet peak sanctuaries give no information of the nature of the Minoan religion nor which deity or deities were worshipped.

7.7 SACRIFICE

The sacrifice of humans and animals in Minoan Crete is verified by iconographic and archaeological remains. There

is evidence that sacrifice was practiced indoors, outdoors, in palaces and during burial ceremonies.

Nowhere is there evidence that suggests that sacrifice was performed for or to a particular deity. Sacrifice was usually accompanied with different forms of rituals, such as dancing, chanting and processions. The slaughter could take place anywhere and at anytime during the ritual.

In antiquity communal meals were usually held prior to, during or after the sacrifice. In animal sacrifice, a meal was eaten with the belief that the the power of the sacrificed animal was transferred to the person who ate the food.

Some academics suggest that sacrifice could be a cannabalistic rite but there is no concrete evidence to prove this assumption.

7.8 PROBLEMS REMAINING

Problems which still confront scholars include the interpretation of Minoan religious imagery and the fact that the diverse approaches taken by various scholars often lead to conflicting theories.

An analysis of the understanding of the archaeological evidence reveals many unsolved riddles. The opinions of Minoan experts are at variance, yet each new generation of archaeologists has uncovered new evidence which helps to expand the basis for understanding the Minoan civilization.

The updated knowledge has been a spring-board to new interpretations. With each new find, scholars develop different theories. Hypotheses are constantly being subjected to critical analysis.

The length of the Minoan period (c.2200-1600 BC), suggests that the Minoan religion was an evolving series of doctrines rather than the static-creed envisioned in the early 20th century.

Any discussion on Minoan civilization must start with Sir Arthur Evans. In spite of the fact that he has been dead for over 50 years, he still exercises a tremendous influence on modern research. His ideas and conclusions are still discussed at this time.

The picture of Minoan religion, never static, is constantly changing, as each new series of discoveries raises new questions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arens, W. "An Anthropological Approach to Ritual: Evidence, Context and Intrepretation." Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 1986, Robin Hägg, Nanno Marinatos, and Gullög C. Nordquist, eds., 223-228. Stockholm: 1988.

Äström, Paul, and Börje Blomé. "A Reconstruction of the Lion Relief at Mycenae." Opuscula Atheniensia 5 (1964) : 159-191.

Banti, Luisa. "Myth in Pre-Classical Art." American Journal of Archeology 58 (1954) : 307-310.

Barnett, William. Book Review of The Language of the Goddess by Marija Gimbutas, American Journal of Archeology 96, 1 (January 1992) : 170-171.

Barozzi, Fr. `Descritione dell'isola di Creta' (1577), cited in Bogdan Rutkowski The Cult Places of the Aegean.. New Haven; London: 1986, note 14, p. 237.

Baumlein, W. Zeitschrift für die Altertumswissenschaft 6 (1839), 1897, cited in Rutkowski (1986), note 26, p.238.

Beattie, A.J. "Mr. Ventris' Decipherment of the Minoan Linear B Script." Journal of Hellenic Studies 76 (1956) : 1-17.

Bergquist, Birgitta. "The Archeology of Sacrifice: Mincan-Mycenaean versus Greek." In Robin Hägg, Nanno Marinatos and Gullög C. Nordquist, eds. (1988) : 21-34.

Blegen, W. Carl. Troy and the Trojans. London: 1963.

Boardman, J. Cretan Collections at Oxford. New York: 1964.

Boulotis, Ch. "Final Discussion." Robin Hägg, Nanno Marinatos and Gullög C. Nordquist, (1988) : 273-277.

Branigan, Keith. The Foundations of Palatial Crete. London: 1970.

Buondelmonti, Chr. `Descritione insulae Cretae', cited in Rutkowski (1986), note 15, p.237.

Burkert, Walter. Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche. Stuttgart: 1977.

----. Greek Religion. Translation by John Raffan. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1985.

------. Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Rituals and Myth. Translation by Peter Bing. Berkley: 1985.

Cadogan, Gerald. "Why was Crete Different." The End of the Early Bronze Age in the Aegean, ed. Gerald Cadogan, 153-171. Leiden: 1986.

Chadwick, John. The Decipherment of Linear B. Cambridge: 1957.

Cook, A.B. "Animal Worship in the Mycenean Age." Journal of Hellenic Studies 14 (1894) : 81-169.

Cottrell, Leonard. The Mystery of Minoan Civilization. New York; Cleveland: 1971.

Daniel, G. 150 Years of Archaeology London: 1976

Demargne, P. "La Vie de la déese minoenne: sur un cachet de Mallia." Revue Archeologique 1948 : 280-283.

Dietrich, B.C. The Origins of Greek Religion. Berlin: 1974.

------. "Late Bronze Age Troy: Religious Contacts with the West." Historia 29 (1980) : 498-503.

------. Traditions in Greek Religion. New York: 1986.

------. "The Instrument of Sacrifice." In Robin Hägg, Nanno Marinatos and Gullög C. Nordquist, eds. (1988) : 35-40.

Diodorus, Siculus. Moralia. London: 1933.

Dussaud, Rene. Les Civilisations préhelléniques dans le basin de la mer Egee. 2d ed. Paris: 1914.

Ennius. Sacra Historia. frag. 526 Baehrens ap. Lactautivs, div. inst. 1.1.1. `sepulchrum eius est in Creta in oppido Cnossoy', cited in Rutkowski (1986), note 4, p.237.

Euripides. Nova Fragments Euripidea: In Papyris Reperta. ed. Colinus Austin. Berlin: 1968.

Evans, Arthur Sir. Cretan Pictographs and the Prae-Phoenician Script with an Account of a Sepulchral Deposit at Hagios Onouphrios. London: 1895.

------. "The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult." Journal of Hellenic Studies 21 (1901) : 99-204.

------. Scripta Minoa. London: Clarendon Press, 1909.

------. "The Minoan and Mycenaean Element in Hellenic Life." Journal of Hellenic Studies 30, 12 (1912) : 277-297.

------. "The Tomb of the Double Axes and Associated Groups and the Pillar Room and Ritual Vessels of the `Little Palace' at Knossos." Archaeologia 65 (1914) : 1-94.

------. The Palace of Minos at Knossos. London: 1921-35.

Evans, Joan. Time and Chance. London: 1973.

Evans-Prichard, E.E. The Nuer: Kinship and Marriage Among the Nuer. Oxford: 1956.

Fabricius, E. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 10 (1885) : 59-72, cited in Rutkowski (1986), note 31, p.238.

Faure, C.F. God or Cult Mysteries. Paris: 1973.

------. La vie quotidienne en Crete au temps de Minos. Paris: 1973.

Frazer, Sir James George. The Golden Bough. New York: 1922.

Furumark, Arne. "Gods of Ancient Crete." Opuscula Archaeologica 6 (1965). : 85-98.

Gansiniec, R. Rocznik Orientalistcyzny. 2 (1919-1924). cited in Rutkowski (1986), note 10, p.237.

------. Le double-hache est-elle un symbole religieux?. (1925), cited in Rutkowski (1986) note 30, p.238.

Gesell, G.C. "The Place of the Goddess in Minoan Society." Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies, eds. O. Krzyskowaska, and L. Nixon, 93-99. Cambridge: 1981.

------. Town, Palace and House Cult in Minoan Crete. Goteborg: 1985.

Gimbutas, Marija. The Language of the Goddess. London: 1989.

Gjerstad, Einer. Martin P. Nilsson in Memorium. Lund: 1968.

Glotz, Gustave. The Aegean Civilization. New York: 1925.

Hägg, Robin and Nanno Marinatos, eds. Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age: Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 1980. Lund, Sweden: 1981.

------. The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 1982. Stockholm: 1984.

Hägg, Robin, Nanno Marinatos and Gullög C. Nordquist, eds. Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 1986. Stockholm: 1988.

Hall, H.R. The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age. New York: 1923.

Harrison, Edith. "Birds and Pillari: in connection with Ouranian Divinities." Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions at Oxford. Oxford: 1908.

Hawkes, Jacquetta Hopkins, ed. The World of the Past. New York: 1963.

Hesiod. Hesiod and Theogonis. Translation by Dorothea Wender. Harmondsworth, Eng.: 1973.

Higgins, R. Minoan and Mycenaean Art. London: 1967.

Hillar, Stefan. Passim. Robin Hägg, and Nanno Marinatos, (1981).

Hogarth, D. The Aegean Religion, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. ed. J. Hastings, Edinborough: 1908-1926.

Homer. The Iliad of Homer. Translation by Richard Latimore. Chicago: 1951.

------. The Odyssey. Translation by Robert Fitzgerald. New York: 1963.

Hood, Sinclair. The Illustrated London News 17 February 1962, cited in Leonard Robert Palmer Mycenaeans and Minoans, in the light of the linear B tablets. 2nd ed. London: 1965 : 280.

------. The Minoans. London: 1971.

------. The Home of the Heroes: The Aegean before the Greeks. London: 1974.

------. "Minoan Town Shrines?" Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory, Studies Presented to F. Schachermeyr on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday. ed. K.H. Kinzl, 158-172. New York, 1977.

------. The Arts in Prehistoric Greece. Harmondsworth, Eng.; 1978.

Hooker, James T. Mycenaean Greece. London: 1976.

------. Minoan Religion in the Late Palace Period. London:

1977.
Hubert, Henri and Marcel Mauss. Translation by W.D. Halls. Sacrifice: its Nature and Function. London: 1964.

Hutchison, R.W. Prehistoric Crete. London: 1962.

Huyghe, René, ed. Larousse Encyclopedia of Prehistoric and Ancient Art. London: 1966.

Hyde, Walter Woodburn. Greek Religion and its Survival. Boston: 1923.

Immerwahr, Sara A. "The People in the Frescoes." O. Krzyskowaska, and L. Nixon, eds. (1981) : 143-153.

Karo, G. "Altkretische Kulstätten." Archiv für die Religionswissenschaft 7 (1904) : 117-56.

Kilian, Klaus. Passim. Robin Hägg, and Nanno Marinatos, eds.(1981).

Kyrill. Al.c Iulia 10.342 (LXXVI 1028B Migne), cited in Rutkowski (1986) note 5, p.237.

Lange, Kurt, and Hirmer, Max. Agypten. Munchen: 1975.

Lawler, Lillian B. The Dance in Ancient Greece. London: 1964.

Leach, E.R. Culture and Communications. Cambridge: 1976.

Levi, Doro. "Scavi del (1954) sull'acropoli di Cortina." Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene Rome: 1955-56.

------. Festòs e la Civiltà Minoica. Rome: 1976.

------. "General Discussion." Robin Hägg, and Nanno Marinatos, eds. (1981) : 209-212.

Lithgow, William. The Totall Discourse. Glasgow: 1906.

Lucian, of Samosata. The Works of Lucian of Samosata. Oxford: 1905.

MacDonald, William, and Carol Thomas. Progress into the Past. 2nd ed. Bloomington and Indianapolis: 1990.

Makkay, J. Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 30 (1978).

Marinatos, Nanno. Art and Religion in Thera. Athens: 1984.

------. Minoan Sacrificial Ritual. Stockholm: 1986.

------."The imagery of sacrifice: Minoan and Greek." Robin

Haäg, Nanno Marinatos, and Gullög C. Nordquist, eds. (1988) : 9-20.

Matz, Friedrich. Göttererescheinung und Kultbild im minoischen Kreta. Mainz: 1958.

------. "Minoischer Stiergott." First International Cretological Congress. 1961.

Mauss, H. Les Fonctions sociales de sacres, Oeuvres. Paris: 1968.

Money-Ernle, Roger. The Meaning of Sacrifice. London: 1930.

Morford, M., and Robert Lenardon. Classical Mythology. New York: Longman, 1977.

Mosso, Angelo. The Palaces of Crete and their Builders. London: 1907.

Myres, J. L. Annual of the British School at Athens 9 (1902/3), cited in Rutkowski (1986), note 58, p.238.

------. Who were the Greeks?. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930.

Mylonas, G.E. "Athens and Minoan Crete: Athenian Studies." Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Supp. Vol.1 (1940) : 11-36].

------. "The Cult of the Dead in Helladic Times." Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson, on His Seventieth Birthday. ed. G.E. Mylonas, 64-105. St. Louis: 1951-53.

------. Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age. Princeton: 1966.

Nees L. A Tainted Mantle . Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1991.

Neimeier, W.D. "The `Priest King' Fresco from Knossos, a New Reconstruction and Interpretation." Agäis-Kolloquium. ed. W. Schiering, 235-244. 1987.

Nilsson, Martin P. Griechische Feste Religioser Bedeutung. Leipzig: 1906.

------. A History of Greek Religion. Oxford: 1924.

------. The Origin of Greek Mythology. New York: 1932.

------. Homer and Mycenae. Philadelphia: 1933.

------. Geschichte der griechischen Religion. Munchen: 1941.

------. The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion. 2nd ed. New York: 1950.
------. Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece. New York: 1972.

Palmer, Leonard Robert. Mycenaeans and Minoans, in the Light of the Linear B Tablets. 2nd ed. London: 1965.

Palmer, L.R. and John Chadwick. eds. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies. Cambridge: 1966.

Papapostolou, J.A. Crete. Athens: 1981.

Paribeni, A. "Il Sacrofago Dipinto di H. Triada." Monumenti Antichi Pubblicati per Cura della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 19 (1948) p. 69, cited in M.P. Nielsson (1950) p.437.

Pashley, Robert. Travels in Crete. London: J. Murray, 1837.

Pausanias. Pausanias Description of Greece. Translation by W.H.S. Jones. London: 1918-35.

Pendlebury, J.D.S. The Handbook to the Palace of Minos. London: 1954.

------. The Archeology of Crete, an Introduction. New York: 1963.

Persson, A.W. Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times. Berkeley; 1942.

Petrarch, Francesco. Sonnet and Songs. New York: 1946.

Picard, Charles. Les Religions préhelléniques (Crête et Mycènes). Paris: 1948.

Platon, Nicholas. "Peri tis en Kritis latreias ton stalaktiton." Archeologiki Ephemeris (1930) : 160-168, cited in Rutkowski (1986), note 74, p.238.

------. Crete. Geneva: 1966.

------. Zacros: The Discovery of a Lost Palace in Ancient Crete. New York: 1971.

-----. "General Discussion." Robin Hägg, and Nanno Marinatos, eds. (1981) : 209-212.

Plutarch. Plutarch's Moralia. London: 1927.

Poursat, Jean-Claude."Un sanctuairs du minoan moyen 11 à Mallia." Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 90 (1966) : 514-551.

Renfrew, Colin. The Emergence of Civilization: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millenium. London: 1972.
------. The Archeology of a Cult: The Sanctuary of Phylokopi. Leiden: 1985.

------. Passim. Robin Hägg, Nanno Marinatos, and Gullög C. Nordquist, eds. (1988).

Reusch, Helga. Zum Wanschmuck des Throinsaales in Knossos, Minoica: Festschrift. Berlin: 1950.

Rice, David, and John E. Stambough. Sources for the Study of Greek Religion. Missoula, Mont.: 1979.

Rodenwaldt, Gerhart. Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai. Halle: 1921.

Rose, H.J. Handbook of Greek Mythology. London: 1923.

Rousse, W.H.D. "The Double Axe and the Labyrinth." Journal of Hellenic Studies 21 (1901) : 268-274.

Rutkowski, Bogdan. "Les antiquités crétoises vues par un voyageur polonais au XVIe siècle." Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 92 (1968) : 85-96.

------. The Cult Places of the Aegean. Cracow: 1972.

------. The Cult Places of the Aegean. New Haven and London: 1986.

Sacconi, A. Il Mito del Mondo Miceneo. 1960.

Säflund, Gösta. Passim. Robin Hägg, and Nanno Marinatos, eds. (1981).

Sakellarakis, J.A. "Das Kuppelgrab A von Archanes und das kretisch-mykenische Tieropferritual." Prähistorische Zeitschrift 45 (1970) : 135-219, cited in N. Marinatos (1986), p.73.

------. Herakleion Museum, Illustrated Guide to the Museum. Translation by Sylvia Moody. Athens: 1985.

Sakellarakis, Yannis, and Efi Sapouna-Sakellaraki. "Minoan Human Scarifice." National Geographic Magazine 159, 2 (February, 1981) : 205-222.

Schliemann, Heinrich. Mykenae Leipzig: 1878.

Shaw, Joseph. "The Minoan Tripartite Shrine." American Journal of Archeology 82, 1978.

Taramelli, Antonio. "A visit to the grotto of Camares on Mount

Ida." American Journal of Archeology 5 (1901) : 437-51.

Taylour, William. The Mycenaeans. London: 1964.

Thucydides. Thucydides' History. Translation by R. Crowley Dent. London: 1957.

Tsountas, Chrestos, and J. Irving, Manatt. The Mycenaean Age: A Study of the Monuments and Culture of Pre-Homeric Greece. Chicago: 1897.

Van Leuven, J.C. Discussion of "Problems and Methods of Prehellenic Naology." Robin Hägg, and Nanno Marinatos, eds. (1981) : 26.

Vaughn, Agnes Carr. The House of the Double Axe. Gardin City: 1959.

Ventris, Michael, and John Chadwick. Documents in Mycenaean Greek. 2nd ed. Cambridge: 1973.

Vermeule, Emily. Greece in the Bronze Age. Chicago: 1964.

------. Götterkult. Göttingen: 1974.

Wace, Allan. Mycenae. New York: 1973.

Walberg, Gisell. "High, Middle or Low." Acts of an International Conference Held at the University of Götenborg, 1987. ed. Paul Ästrom. Götenborg: 1990.

Warren, Peter. Myrtos: an Early Bronze Age Settlement in Greece. London: 1972.

------. The Making of the Past: the Aegean Civilization. Lausanne: 1975.

------. The Beginning of Minoan Pottery. Catania: 1977.

------. Minoan Religion as Ritual Action. Lund: 1988.

Willetts, R.F. Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete. London: 1955.

------. The Civilization of Ancient Crete. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977.

------. Everyday Life in Ancient Crete. New York: 1969.

Wood, Michael. In Search of the Trojan War. Rugby, Eng.: 1985.

Wunderlich, Hans G. The Secret of Crete. New York: 1974.

Yavis, C.G. Greek Altars: Origins and Typology. St.Louis,

Missouri: 1949.

Wainwright, F.T. Archaeology, Place-names and History. London : 1962.

APPENDIX 1

BIOGRAPHIES OF CONTEMPORARY SCHOLARS

Betancourt, Philip (1936-) is the Laura H. Carnell professor and chairman of Art History, Temple University Philadelphia. He received his PhD. from the University of Pennsylvania. He has done field work since 1964 at Kato Zakros and is presently engaged in extensive excavations in Crete. He and Costis Davaras, Superintendent for antiquities for Eastern Crete, jointly direct the excavations at Pseira. Betancourt specializes in Minoan Pottery. He is the author of eight books and numerous articles on Aegean Art, Archaeology and Minoan Pottery.
Publications: The Cretan Collection in the University Museum (1983). East-Cretan White-on-Dark Ware (1984): and The History of Minoan Pottery (1985).

Blegen, Carl William was born in Minneapolis in 1887 and died in 1971. He received his B.A. from Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis in 1904 and his PhD., from Yale. He served as the acting director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens from 1913-1927. He was Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Cincinnati and from 1950-1957 was head of the Department of Classics with the title "Professor Emeritus." Blegen, in collaboration with A.J.C. Wace, concentrated his research mostly on

mainland Greece. He made important discoveries at the Palace of Nestor. He published six volumes on Troy and wrote about prehistoric settlements near Corinth and the Valley of Cleonae.

Boyd, Harriet (Mrs. Boyd Hawes, 1871-1945), was an American archaeologist who directed excavations at Gournia. In 1901 and 1903-04, she uncovered what is still one of the most fully visible prehistoric towns in the Aegean. She wrote extensively about the excavations at Gournia and the surrounding area.

Caskey, John, (b.1908-) was a professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Cincinnati. He was a director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. He was involved in extensive excavating, with Blegen, at many Aegean prehistoric sites: at Troy, Lerna and at Aghia Eirene on the island of Kea.

Furumark, Arne was a Swedish archaeologist who produced the fundamental study of Mycenaean pottery and its dating (Furumark, Linear A und die altkretische, Entzifferung und Deutung, 1956). This preliminary interpretation by Furumark of Minoan Linear A seems to be generally accepted (Furumark, A. 1960, p. 87). He produced a basic monograph on Minoan and Mycenaean history from the point of view of their foreign connections.

Gesell, Geraldine, C. is the Lindsay Young Professor of Classics at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. She received her Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at

Chapel Hill and has worked in Crete since 1969. Her research speciality is the Minoan Cult and its survival in Early Iron Age Crete, a topic on which she has written the book "Town, Place and House Cult in Minoan Crete. She is currently executive direcror of the Kavousi Expedition.

Halbherr, Federico (1857-1930) was an Italian archaeologist and explorer of Crete who helped Evans in the latter's early surveillance of the island. He excavated at Aghia Triadha, Phaistos and the Idaean cave. Evans dedicated The Palace of Minos to him.

Hatzidhakis, Joseph (1846-1934) assisted Evans in the purchase of the site at Knossos from the Turkish government. He formed the first collection of Cretan artifacts which was housed in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum and was appointed its first director. After commencing excavations at Mallia, he turned over his notes to the French School. His main discovery was at Tylissos, where he excavated three Minoan country mansions.

Hood, Martin Sinclair, was born in 1917, was educated at Harrow and Magdalen College, Oxford. He was a director of the British School at Athens in 1947-1948, the assistant director 1949-51 and director 1954-1961. He was a professor of Greek Art and Archaeology at the University at Aberdeen from 1968. He took part in excavations at Dorchester in 1937. He has excavated extensively in Crete.

His publications are:-The Home of the Heroes the Aegean before the Greeks (1974), The Minoans: Crete in the Bronze

Age (1971) and The Arts in Prehistoric Greece (1978).

Hutchison, Richard W., was born in 1894 and was educated at Birkenhead and at John's College, Cambridge. He was elected Foundation Scholar and Craven Student at Athens in 1921 and later F.S.A., F.R.A.I. and was a corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute. He was curator of antiquities in Crete for the British School at Athens from 1934-1947. He was appointed lecturer in classical archaeology at Liverpool University in 1948 and at Cambridge in 1952. He excavated many sites in Crete.

Levi, Doro, an Italian archaeologist, discovered the major parts of the First Palace and Bronze Age town at Phaistos and published information regarding its contents. Other work in Crete includes excavations at Arkhanes, a villa near Gortyn, and a circular tomb at Kamilari near Phaistos. He died on July, 1992.

MacKenzie, Duncan (1859-1935) played an important part in the first British excavations in the prehistoric Aegean, at Phylakopi in Melos. He worked as an assistant to Evans at Knossos throughout the excavations there. His detailed recordings of the pottery helped towards understanding the historical sequences at these sites.

Marinatos, Nanno, daughter of S. Marinatos, was born in Athens. She studied classics and archaeology in the United States and received her Ph.D. degree in 1978 from the University of Colorado, Boulder. She has taught classics and archaeology at Oberlin College, Ohio and at the University

of Colorado, Boulder.

Publications; Thucydides and Religion (1981); Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age (1981)(co-edited with R. Hägg); Art and Religion in Thera, 1984; and The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality 1984) (co-edited with R. Hägg).

Muhly, Polymnia received her Ph.D. in Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology from Bryn Mawr in 1981. She teaches modern Greek at the University of Pennsylvannia and has been excavating at Syme since 1973.

Myers, Sir John L. (1869-1928) was a classical scholar. He travelled and worked very closely with Evans in the early years of explorations in Crete. He excavated the peak sanctuary at Petsopha in 1903. He organized Evans' notes and produced a publication of the Linear B tablets from Knossos in 1952.

Palmer, Leonard R., was professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford University and a specialist on Linear B tablets. He proposed that the final occupation of Knossos was 1200 BC and not 1400 BC, as Evans claimed.

Nicholas Platon was born in 1909 and was educated at the University of Athens and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris. From 1930 until 1935, he was assistant director of the Herakleion Museum, Crete. He re-organized the catalogue of the artifacts in the Museum. He was Ephor of antiquities at Boeotia (1935-1938), Ephor of antiquities in Crete (1938-1962) and ephor at the University of Crete (1977-1978). He

has been a professor at the University of Salonica since 1966. He was an honorary member of the German and Austrian Archaeological Ibstitutes and of the Institute for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. The discovery of the lost palace at Zakros was the high-light of his career.

Renfrew, Colin, born in July 1937, is a professor of Archaeology at the University of Cambridge and Master at Jesus College, Cambridge. He was educated at St. Alban's School, St John's College, Cambridge. He received his BA. with first-class honors in Archaeology and Anthropology (Tripos) in 1962, his MA in 1964, his Ph.D. in 1965 and was elected F.S.A. in 1980. He was president of the Cambridge Union in 1961, and served in the R.A.F 1956-1958. Receiving many honors, he has written extensively on archaeological studies and has excavated on Crete and other islands since 1964.

His publications reflecting excavations at Saliagos with J.D.Evans, in 1968, include The Emergence of Civilization, 1972; The Explanation of Cultural Change, 1973; Before Civilization, 1973; Theory and Explanation of Archaeology, 1982 and Archaeology and Language, 1987. He specialized in the application of scientific techniques, especially radiocarbon dating, to Aegean prehistory.

Shaw, Joseph, W. is professor of Fine Arts at the University of Toronto. He has done field work at Kato Zakros since 1964. He is presently co-editor with Maria C. Shaw of the multi-volumed series on the Kommos expeditions

(University Press, Publisher).

Wace, Alan (1879-1957) was an English archaeologist who, with M.S.Thompson, excavated in Neolithic Thessaly and produced a book Mycenae which is still the standard work for that area. At Sparta, he excavated various cemeteries of the Late Bronze Age, the beehive tombs and many other buildings at the Palace at Mycenae.

Warren, Peter was born in 1938. He has been Professor of ancient history and classical studies and Dean, Faculty of Arts, at the University of Bristol from 1988. He was educated at Sandbach School and the University College of North Wales. He received his BA. with first class honors from Corpus Christi College, his MA. in 1966, and his Ph.D. in 1966. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1973. He is reader, lecturer and senior lecturer at many universities. Warren was a student at the British School in Athens (BSA). 1963-1965; assistant director 1970-1972; executive director of the excavations at Myrtos, Crete 1967-1968; director at Knossos 1971-1973; and managing director BSA 1973-1977 and 1978-1979. He was a member of the Council for Promotion of Hellenic Studies 1978-1981 and has been an Honorary Fellow in the Archaeology Society of Athens 1967.

His publications comprise, Minoan Stone Vases, 1969; Myrtos, 1972; The Aegean Civilization, 1975(1989); (with V. Hankey) Minoan Religion as Ritual Action, 1988; Aegean Bronze Age Chronology, 1989. He has written extensively on

the Aegean Bronze Age and Minoan archaeology.

Xanthoudides, Stephanos (1864-1928) was an outstanding Cretan archaeologist. His main excavations were the Early Bronze Age communal round graves of southern Crete. He discovered the Middle Minoan oval house at Khamaizi in eastern Crete, the mansion at Nirou Khani and the Pyrgos burial cave.